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THE YEAR'S WORK IN ENGLISH STUDIES

VOLUME VI

1925

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The English Association

BY

F. S. BOAS

and

C. H. HERFORD

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PREFACE

WHEN in the Preface to Volume V of *The Year's Work* the Editors expressed their regret that for the first time the Association's Annual appeared without the name of Sir Sidney Lee as an editor or a contributor, they did not anticipate that his death was so near at hand. It has fallen to Sir E. K. Chambers, who has now undertaken the Shakespeare section of this survey, to give expression to the sense of loss felt by scholars everywhere.

In almost every section covered by *The Year's Work* 1925 was a period of great activity, and for the first time the survey has had to include the important contributions in the new *Review of English Studies*. The editors of academic journals, especially in the United States, who forward them immediately on publication, do much to facilitate the work.

As usual, the Editors are indebted to officials of the Oxford University Press for the Index and for the compilation of statistics which show that in this volume 626 publications are noticed, of which 309 are books and 317 are articles.

F. S. B.

C. H. H.

ABBREVIATIONS

C.H.E.L.	= Cambridge History of English Literature.
C.U.P.	= Cambridge University Press.
E.E.T.S.	= Early English Text Society.
J.E.G.P.	= Journal of English and Germanic Philology.
M.L.N.	= Modern Language Notes.
M.L.R.	= Modern Language Review.
Mod. Phil.	= Modern Philology.
N. and Q.	= Notes and Queries.
O.U.P.	= Oxford University Press.
P.M.L.A.	= Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.
P.Q.	= Philological Quarterly.
R.E.S.	= Review of English Studies.
R.S.L.	= Royal Society of Literature.
S. in Ph.	= Studies in Philology.
T.L.S.	= Times Literary Supplement.

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I

LITERARY HISTORY AND CRITICISM GENERAL WORKS

[BY C. H. HERFORD]

WE begin by noticing two or three books devoted to the fundamental questions of literature.

Professor Abercrombie describes his little volume, *The Idea of Great Poetry*¹ as 'a kind of sequel' to his previous essays on the 'Theory of Art' and the 'Theory of Poetry', applying the methods and principles there stated to a specific critical problem. The problem is not, as such problems mostly are, academic. On the contrary he starts, like Aristotle (and F. H. Bradley), with a term that is on everybody's lips, and subjects it to a subtle and illuminating analysis. Vaguely as we use the epithet, we have some distinction in view, he assumes, when we call poetry 'great'. But what precisely do we mean, and what at bottom constitutes this 'greatness' in poetry? Some inadequate answers are first ruled out. 'Perfection' may be found in an epigram or neat copy of verses; 'passion' may be merely vehement. But help is found in Sappho, and in Longinus' description of her 'concourse of passions' and of sensations in the fusing intensity of a single experience. Concentration of a many-sided apprehension of life in 'a white heat of personality'—this, in brief, is Abercrombie's notion of 'great' poetry, and his book is a prolonged exposition, strewn with felicitous and often unusual examples, of its implications. There is daring, perhaps a little defiance, in the choice of his first examples, from Dante. For it is not the later Dante—the safe gold-mine to which any ordinary quester would turn—but the 'unregenerate', passion-fraught Dante of the Sixth Canzone, where love and rage, anguish and rapture, throng together into a single moment of intensely personal experience. We confess to some doubt about 'richness' however 'concentrated', as an absolute criterion; Mr. Abercrombie's language here hovers on the verge of a kind of

¹ *The Idea of Great Poetry*, by Lascelles Abercrombie. Secker. pp. 232. 6s.

materialism which recalls the medieval trouble about seven angels on the point of a needle; is it the 'vast plenty of things' wrought into harmony in the *Iliad* which makes us feel it 'greater' (if we do) than a sonnet, equally splendid in imagination, but of a divine simplicity? Should we not recognize different categories of 'greatness'? Abercrombie's position, however, fortifies his just repudiation of the current heresy that poetry is essentially lyrical. He is here again Aristotelian; and it is easy to recognize this affinity both in his conception of a poem as 'a single complexity of things', and in his doctrine of its ideal significance. But he goes his own way in the distinction (only possible for us post-romantics) between two poetic modes of possessing this ideal significance: 'the poetry of Refuge' and the 'poetry of Interpretation'. The familiarity of the distinction (under other names) in no way detracts from the value of Abercrombie's comments on the *Decameron*, Theocritus, Spenser, the *Witch of Atlas*, on the one hand, and *Prometheus Unbound* and Leopardi, on the other.

The third lecture turns to the other aspect of the thesis, the concentration of thought and passion in a 'personal' experience. And here he finds to his hand a poet 'who was capable perhaps of a larger interpretation of life than any other in our modern literature', and who had focused his interpretation in a poetic image of the growth of his own mind. No doubt the magnificent horizons contemplated in *The Prelude* and *The Recluse* were never to be reached; and it says much for Abercrombie's openness of mind that, though Wordsworth never achieved the creation of a poem informed with the complete expression of his characteristic harmony of experience, 'as Shelley, relying on a much less potent idea, did in *Prometheus Unbound*', he yet puts him certainly 'third of English poets'. Moreover, he 'came very near it once: and perhaps this partial achievement of Wordsworth's is the greatest thing in modern poetry; it is surely the loftiest. Is there, outside Dante and Milton, anything really comparable with the *Ode on Intimations of Immortality*?' A less familiar example of the focusing of diverse experience is described at length in the clashing Hellenism and Hebraism of *The Wisdom of Solomon*, and a more neglected one in the conflict of the mundane and the spiritual in *Paradise Regained*. And in

Paradise Lost we are shown a supreme example of greatness of idea and comprehensiveness of experience focused in a personality of commanding intensity and power. 'In *Paradise Lost* Satan is the idea'; and the idea is Free-will versus Fate. This is put with great eloquence and force; but we think it simplifies both Milton and his great poem overmuch. 'Free-will', was Satan's last word, but it was not Milton's; freedom for him was liberty to obey the divine law, and the final prospect he held out to man, through Michael's parting words to Adam, was that of winning back through that obedience 'a Paradise within thee happier far'. This 'last word' must surely be taken up into the final significance of *Paradise Lost*. And it can be, without prejudice to the more overwhelming grandeur of Satan.

The fourth lecture ('Tragic Greatness: The Hero') traces the bearing of 'great character' upon the 'greatness' of the poem. The *Iliad* is supremely great, in virtue of its structure and execution, not solely because of the grandeur of Achilles and Hector. *The Dynasts*, on the other hand, grand as it is, misses the supremacy which is given by towering personality, since men are by the explicit philosophy of the poem itself only the 'fingers' of universal will. And the inferiority of the Second Part of *Faust* is referred to the evanescence of the character of the hero. It may be 'unfair', as he suggests, to compare Hamlet or Macbeth, who show no disposition thus to fade in the closing Acts. But it is also, we think, misleading to make even Shakespearian tragedy, with its exclusive reference to human personalities and mundane issues, an absolute standard for tragedy like *Faust*, where man, whatever his spiritual significance, is confessedly a piece in the cosmic game. But in Shakespearian tragedy, too, Abercrombie, we must think, over-emphasizes the significance of the hero. His extremely fine discussions of *Macbeth* and *Hamlet* suffer from his axiom that tragedy must represent a good elicited from the evil, and matching or superior to the evil, and that we should not enjoy it were this not the case. He can thence find the essence of Macbeth in the 'white heat vigour by which he is himself against the world'. But is not the sense of waste, uncompensated waste, ultimate in these tragedies? And does this formula fit Lear, or Othello? And does not the notion of compensation, or equivalence, detract any-

how from tragic quality? We cannot discuss the point further here, and we must be content to indicate the original development of the 'personality' theme in the striking final lecture. For in this last group of 'great' poems the poet himself is the hero whose personality, focusing a vast and crowded experience, pervades it. They include not only Lucretius and Dante, but Whitman, 'that vividly personal figure which is surely one of the few supremely great things in modern poetry'. We have spoken at large of this volume, and not concealed occasional demur. It is not final, but it is the brilliant work of one who is a thinker as well as a critic, and who apprehends 'great poetry' with the authentic imagination of a poet.

Mr. Richards brings to these discussions a more definitely scientific equipment. He has contributed to the International Library of Psychology, Philosophy, and Scientific Method a book of importance for all critical students of English literature, which cannot, however, be adequately appraised in an account of 'English Work'.² Himself a lecturer on English literature, Mr. Richards is at the same time a trained psychologist of the 'Behaviourist' school, and his book is the ablest attempt we have yet seen to bring modern psychology methodically to bear upon the 'chaos' of existing critical theory. Literary critics have, in England, ignored or, at best, toyed with psychology; while, on the other hand, the problems of poetry and literary genius are precisely those in which professional psychology itself has made least advance. Our criticism has no accepted canon of value; in default, 'Truth', 'Beauty', and other abstractions, exercise an undefined and fruitless sway. Richards accordingly seeks a universally applicable theory of value as the first requisite of a scientific criticism. His method, roughly stated, is to substitute for all abstract or ideal standards a more exact analysis of literary experience. The method is applied with poetic insight as well as with scientific acumen, and against moral or religious claims to determine art values, as well as against art's own claims to autonomy; even Dr. Bradley's 'Poetry for Poetry's Sake', the last and ablest formulation of 'Art for Art's Sake',

² *The Principles of Literary Criticism*, by I. A. Richards. Kegan Paul. pp. vi, 286. 10s. 6d.

being dismissed, as a single and sufficing principle of judgement, on the same grounds. In chapter xvi Richards undertakes the 'analysis of a poem', distinguishing six 'distinct kinds of events' in the experience of the reader, ranging from the visual sensations of the printed words, the 'tied' and 'free' images excited by that 'thin trickle of stimulation' to the emotive reactions and 'attitudes' or incipient impulses to act. Much of this had been well worked out before, as by Wundt, especially the play of sensation on the stored-up images ('an immense hierarchy of systems of tendencies poised in the most delicate stability', as he excellently says. The chapter on 'Rhythm and Metre' similarly lays the stress not on particular arrangements of words and syllables but on our response to them. 'The effect of metre is not due to our perceiving a pattern in something outside us, but to our becoming patterned ourselves. With every beat of the metre a tide of anticipation in us turns and swings, setting up as it does so extraordinarily extensive sympathetic reverberations.' He is here confessedly drawing upon the *Biographia Literaria*, 'that lumber-room of neglected wisdom which contains more hints towards a theory of poetry than all the rest ever written upon the subject'. Ensuing chapters touch on the allied art of painting and the 'impasse of musical theory'—psychology still confessedly standing helpless before the riddle which Browning long ago conveyed in his phrase 'not a fourth sound but a star',—the incalculable effect of two or more sound-stimuli combined. In the ensuing discussions of 'Communication', 'the Normality of the Artist', and 'Levels of Response and Width of Appeal' a more exact interpretation of literary experience is applied to the relation of artist and public; to the fact, for instance, that the 'universal' appeal of a Shakespeare means a number of partial appeals to distinct audiences who admire him very largely for distinct things. In the valuable chapter on Imagination (xxxii), the focus of the book, Richards uses the fundamental ideas of the *Biographia Literaria* (purged of their metaphysic) to interpret both Shelley and Aristotle. 'The reconciliation . . . of Pity and Terror in an ordered single response is the catharsis by which Tragedy is recognized, whether Aristotle meant anything of this kind or not. . . . The essence of Tragedy is that it forces us to live for the moment without' the subter-

fuges and suppressions by which we ordinarily 'dodge the full development of experience'. 'The joy which is so strangely the heart of the [tragic] experience is not an indication that "all's right with the world", . . . but that all is right here and now with the nervous system.' This does not mean anything so crude as it may suggest; still, a diagnosis of tragic experience as a state of the completely healthy mind which 'does not shy away from anything' but 'stands uncomfited, unintimidated, alone, and self-reliant', describes rather the temper of stoicism than that of either the hero or the spectator of supreme tragedy. Bradley's interpretation, as a 'reconciliation', ('a consciousness of greatness in pain') surely renders more truly the mood in which we are left by *Othello* or *King Lear*. The closing chapters of the book develop in a striking way the distinction between the 'scientific and the emotional', or 'suggestive', uses of language, and the reaction of poetry upon belief. Richards's position as a specialist both in literature and psychology enables him here to mediate in an important way. Sweeping aside all 'revelation' theories of poetry as illusory, he yet holds that these doctrines 'when we know what they are really about, come nearer to supplying an explanation of the value of the arts than any of the other traditional accounts'. Some poetry seems to 'lift away the burden of existence, and we seem to ourselves to be looking into the heart of things'. 'The central experience of Tragedy is . . . indispensable for a fully developed life.' 'But in the reading of *King Lear* what facts verifiable by science . . . are relevant? None whatever.' None, that is, save the one which underlies the whole situation thus trenchantly analysed, the production of *King Lear* itself at a given time and place by a human brain.

To this still unexhausted problem of tragic experience, seen from a more purely literary angle, Professor Macneile Dixon has devoted the greater part of his volume on *Tragedy*.³ Mr. Dixon is therefore not concerned to give a conspectus of Tragedy, to classify its varieties, to distinguish its 'types': he wants to pluck out the heart of the mystery, and nothing but the very best and greatest will serve. Everything is thence ruled out,

³ *Tragedy*, by W. Macneile Dixon. Arnold. pp. viii, 228. 6s. net.

in effect, but the work of the three Athenians and Shakespeare; on the whole it is Aeschylus and Shakespeare who sway and inspire his thinking, and, as between these, it is Aeschylus whose tragedy most completely satisfies him. He thus deliberately forgoes certain clues and safeguards enjoyed by more catholic surveys, such as Professor T. Volkelt's exhaustive monograph *Die Tragödie*, or C. E. Vaughan's *Types of Tragedy*. Throughout the first half of the book the sublimity of the universe in the awful shadow of which Aeschylean tragedy moves gives this a grave if not final advantage over the secular art of Shakespeare, whose 'easier but less fortunate lot it was to find imagination anchored to earth, diminished in dignity; and thus to the wonder of succeeding generations he appears himself without religion, blind or indifferent to the larger questions, the continuity, and the whole of things'. And if you begin, as Dixon does, by describing Tragedy as 'poetry's point of implication with philosophy and religion', Shakespeare's secularity must necessarily appear a damning blot. We are accustomed to say that for us moderns 'character' replaces 'destiny'. Dixon will not have this, save with large reserves. 'Character is itself a strange and terrible thing, and assuredly has a place in tragedy, but to be admitted as a factor only, no further than as a part of the interminable web, the side of the pattern visible to us. . . . Naked tragedy overlooks shades of character. Its essence is that such things happened to a man, a human being like ourselves.' Hence the complex and profound world even of Shakespearian character shrinks together in his hands. Why do we 'torture so simple and intelligible a play as *Hamlet*, making of it an enigma where there is in fact none'? We will here only interpose the question, whether Shakespearian character at its greatest does not open up depths more truly mysterious and awe-inspiring than the Olympian deities from whom Aeschylus never disengaged his art: whether Shakespeare does not, more certainly than Wordsworth himself, realize Wordsworth's great confession of the awe with which he looked into the mind of man, passing in its presence 'Jehovah and his shouting angels' unalarmed?

From this standpoint the rationalist Aristotle and his theory of tragedy, which Aeschylus did so little to suggest, was likely

to fare ill. Dixon corrects common misconceptions about 'pity' and 'fear', but for him the true interpretation of tragic 'fear' lifts it above the plane of Aristotelian thinking altogether. He quotes Bergson's fine saying: 'True pity consists not so much in fearing suffering as in desiring it, . . . as if Nature were committing some great injustice and it were necessary to get rid of all complicity with her.' That suggestion of a heroic and selfless desire to suffer, reckless of consequences, so long as that complicity is set aside, touches the heart of Dixon's conception of Tragedy. We understand now the better his exaltation of the Aeschylean world, which just because it is incurably wounded 'provides a superb amphitheatre for such men as are content to match themselves with gods and natural powers, and if need be die in action'. The famous 'catharsis', similarly, even when interpreted in the closest accord with Aristotle's probable thought, is reduced to 'a theory as pretty as it is popular'. The *ἀμαρτία* which Aristotle thought necessary for the ideal hero of tragedy becomes a merely secondary trait: the ideal hero is one who, like Antigone, suffers without blame; —a fate which to Aristotle seemed too shocking for tragedy, but which to our critic seems the more truly tragic because heroism is here disengaged from the last shred of reconciling reason. We cannot but ask, here as at other points in his striking book, whether he does not simplify too much. He is so bent upon isolating the heroic from consoling or justifying reason that he comes near suggesting that sheer calamity, as such, if magnificently, defiantly borne, is tragic. This brings us naturally to the criticism of Hegel, an antagonist even more strongly entrenched than Aristotle in the anti-tragic fortresses of pure reason. He justly assails Hegel's doctrine of a conflict between two representatives of opposite forms of spiritual good as an even approximate account of tragedy. But this does not lessen the value of the contention that a conflict between two powers both embodying some spiritual good, and wasteful or ruinous, as Bradley says, for both, holds a richer measure of tragic quality than the simple ruin of innocence, whatever splendour of heroism this may provoke. The tragic glory of Antigone is not diminished, but the intellectual significance of the drama is increased, if Creon be taken to have a kind of

reason, however, immeasurably lower than hers, and not merely brute force, on his side. So with Macbeth and Iago, and the rest. But intellectual significance is just what Dixon, in his poet's intoxication with the heroic, is inclined, to our thinking, too lightly to forgo. We must be content to refer to his fascinating criticisms of the anti-Hegelian Schopenhauer, whose tragic hero, resigned and disillusioned, satisfies him as little as Hegel's, and of Nietzsche, 'that Hotspur of the mind', whose epoch-making *Die Geburt der Tragödie* is far too little known in England, though its brilliant antithesis of Dionysus and Apollo has become in some measure critical property. In conclusion, let us say that Dixon's book, if it fail at times in breadth, is pervaded by a passionate faith in greatness. 'Ubi magnitudo, ibi veritas', he is fond of quoting from St. Augustine, and it is this kind of truth which he has brilliantly proclaimed.

Mr. Beaumont's study in the theory of tragedy,⁴ and in particular of the nature of the tragic Hero, is mainly devoted to one more detailed scrutiny of Hamlet. Since his conclusion, however, is that 'all those phenomena in life and in art to which the term "tragic" can be applied are best explained as attempts to overcome a feeling of inferiority, which are always directed towards some goal of superiority', the case of Hamlet is not obviously apposite; nor do his hundred pages and more of ingenious argument persuade us that it is so in fact. Much better suited to Beaumont's thesis are characters like Hedda Gabler, Solness, and Iago, genuine examples or victims of the morbid passion for power, to whom in fact the last and most cogent pages of the essay are devoted. But why magnify Ibsen's powerful yet consciously provincial creations into types of all tragedy? And why ignore that the diagnosis successfully applied to a great but secondary personage, the contriver of the harms in *Othello*, when applied to Othello himself, the real hero, completely fails? Othello, in fact, seems to be the very antithesis of Beaumont's conception of the tragic hero. Far from being oppressed by the 'insecurity' which is always goading his 'hero' to improve his position, Othello is only too

⁴ *The Hero: A Theory of Tragedy*, by Albert Beaumont. Routledge. pp. 174. 4s. 6d.

magnificently secure; and this temper, so obnoxious to ruin from within and without, is surely one of the prevailing notes of Shakesperian tragedy. But of course Hamlet provides some food for almost every theory of him. He tells Rosencrantz and Guildenstern that he is ambitious; he browbeats Gertrude and Ophelia by way of asserting his 'masculine' power. The final urge to kill the king is thus made to rest on a prospect of being free at last from his terrible responsibilities. Beaumont thinks he has thus given a more definite meaning to the 'melancholy' of Dr. Bradley's view. But it is clear that he has left yet more important things out. We do not think slightly of Beaumont's essay, which abounds in fine observation and acute criticism. But, like most Hamlet studies, it is better in its survey of predecessors than in its original contribution. Its doctrine of 'security' is based upon the valuable investigations of Adler, Stoll, and Schücking; the 'Als ob' philosophy of Vaihinger and the Freudian Oedipus-complex also are variously called into play, the last, happily, to be declined as, at least for Beaumont's thesis, irrelevant.

Professor Warwick Bond discusses with much apt illustration and suggestion 'The Art of Narrative Poetry'.⁵ The essay is the more apposite at a time when, in spite of some distinguished examples of the story in verse, the tides of literature, and, as this survey may have suggested, of critical discussion set with predominant strength towards lyric style and dramatic form.

Mr. John Buchan gave before the Royal Society of Literature a discourse on 'The Old and New in Literature'⁶ which seems to deprecate a place in the sober chronicle of 'English Work'. But like other 'Imaginary Conversations', of longer reputation and more pretence, this dialogue, or pair of dialogues, is a serious and weighty critical pronouncement, and the force of its stylistic felicities is by no means exhausted in the sparkle of its wit. As might be expected, 'the Old' and 'the New' are not, in Mr. Buchan's hands, very internecine enemies, and the apologue of a Boar choked

⁵ In *Essays by Divers Hands*, vol. iv (1924), ed. by Sir Edmund Gosse. O.U.P. for R.S.L. pp. x+156. 7s. net.

⁶ In *Essays by Divers Hands*, vol. v, ed. by John Drinkwater. O.U.P. for R.S.L. pp. viii+138. 7s. net.

off by a timely application of Greek, with which it begins and ends, is a menacing emblem only for the more hopeless members of either party—the crusted antiques in whom youth is dead, and the boys who never grow up. The claims of youth, and its achievements in literature, are notoriously very urgently asserted in our day, and Mr. Buchan by no means puts them by. Like his ‘Septimus’, the shrewd old scholar of the Athenaeum, to whom he reports the talk of ‘Theophilus’, the well-equipped champion of youth, he nods approvingly, not seldom, at the young man’s dicta. The upshot would seem to be: Youth, with all its daring, its freedom, its opportunities, its bold novels and its ‘free verse’—while you are young; then—‘ten years after’, criticism and critical theory. ‘Septimus’ (and Mr. Buchan, we take it, with him) makes sharp and significant reserves to his general approval of the methods and dogmas of youth. In particular he demands ‘form’ and all that it implies. Fidelity to ‘Life’ is right. But fidelity does not mean copying without reserve or choice. Detail must not only be ‘true’ but significant. ‘Sex’ is not all-important because it is ubiquitous. Tragedy (and here we recognize Mr. Buchan’s most distinctive note) does not arise from a monotony of distress, or of ‘drab, dismal pathology’; suffering must find a vent in action. This is, in effect, the Aristotelian ‘Greek’ which Mr. Buchan administers, thus agreeably, to the Boar of literary Error.

Viscount Grey’s address on ‘The Pleasure of Reading’, printed in the same volume, has, besides its urbane charm, a special and rather unusual value for ‘English Work’, as a diagnosis of English books from the standpoint, less of the critic or scholar, than of the cultivated and sensitive reader. Lord Grey’s quietly indicated tastes and preferences are themselves, however, an implicit criticism upon much current writing. It may be thought that the authority of his praise is given too insistently to the safe, and ‘good’, literature which leaves alone the darker enigmas and more dangerous excitements of life; and that if Wordsworth is his ‘favourite poet’ (as, according to an amusing anecdote here told, he was also Lord Morley’s) it was more in virtue of the ‘tranquillity’ than of the ‘emotion’ of his poetry. But his taste for tranquillity and the books which embalm it is that of one familiar with great literature, who has been where great

issues were decided in the life of men and nations; it is the 'master-bias' of a 'Happy Warrior' for home-felt pleasures and for gentle scenes. Moreover, Lord Grey can pay a delightful tribute to Dumas, whose romances owe as little to the genius of repose as any in the world.

We pass from these discussions of fundamental problems to a group of literary histories.

Professor A. Nicoll's survey of British drama⁷ is an important and valuable book, the best 'short view' of our entire dramatic history that has yet appeared. His qualifications as a dramatic historian were already attested by his work upon the Restoration and early eighteenth-century drama, and upon dramatic theory. This survey of the entire development naturally bears the mark of these predilections, but not in such a degree as seriously to disturb proportion. Relative space occupied is a rough test, but may serve to give a notion of the architectonics of the book. Out of 460 pages the Restoration and Eighteenth Century have some 85; the Beginnings to Shakespeare's Predecessors 100, the Elizabethans and Jacobeans 110, the Early Nineteenth Century 30, and the Modern Revival 130. Evidently times and tastes have changed since Ward, the classical dramatic historian of the Victorian age, adopted the death of Queen Anne as the terminus, save for some sporadic Goldsmith or Sheridan born after his time, of English dramatic history worthy of record. With Nicoll, the dramatic centre of gravity has moved very unmistakably forward towards our own time. We suspect that the modern period, to which he has given nearly a third of the book, is, for him, hardly inferior in distinction and import to the once exclusively idolized Elizabethan age. Mr. Shaw he pronounces the greatest dramatist of modern times. This chapter is not only full, like the whole book, of matter, but is written with the lively gusto of a keen and constant playgoer. It is precisely one of the virtues of Nicoll's survey of the drama that he never detaches it from the theatre. He sees it being played on the stage, the particular stage of its epoch, not written in the pages of books. And it is only with the contemporary drama that

⁷ *British Drama: An Historical Survey from the Beginning to the Present Time*, by Allardyce Nicoll. Harrap. pp. 428. 12s. 6d.

this is more than occasionally possible. But he is no less keenly concerned with the theatre as a field for imaginative stage-reform. In traversing more beaten ground the interest in dramaturgical motives often gives the cue to the criticism: the page and a half on *Hamlet* is mainly occupied with expanding the daring thesis (based on Stoll's theory) that it would probably have been entirely forgotten had it not been for the production in 1599 of Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*. The purely literary criticism is rarely striking. But it is almost uniformly competent. And the delineation of what may be called the anatomy of our drama as a living and growing body, with distinctly articulated members in phases of evolution, is throughout, so far as our observation goes, effected with the skill of one thoroughly familiar with the matter and apt with his tools.

Mr. Clark's *Study of Modern Drama*⁸ is an example of the best kind of American book, competent at every point but never pretentious, controlled by 'business' instinct without the least flavour of the shop, admirably written without a hint of phraseological display, selective or exhaustive according to occasion in its handling of the enormous field surveyed. Practically all the countries which have in the last half-century possessed a living drama are represented, together with the homeless Yiddish drama. Most of the foreign countries, however, are represented only by one, two, or three dramatists, and these usually by one drama each. Thus Strindberg stands alone for Sweden with *The Father* and *There are Crimes and Crimes*; Tolstoy, Gorky, Chekhov, Andreyev, for Russia, with one play each; Hauptmann, Sudermann, and Wedekind for Germany. Ibsen himself is represented by only four plays (*The Pretenders*, *Peer Gynt*, *A Doll's House*, *Hedda Gabler*), Denmark, Hungary, Belgium, Holland, by one each. D'Annunzio's *La Gioconda* is chosen alone to represent this prolific dramatist, a choice which, like some others, suggests that Clark's selection has been controlled rather by a play's importance for dramatic technique than for its quality as a poetic creation. Otherwise, one might demur to the inclusion of *Rosmersholm* and *The Wild Duck*.

⁸ *A Study of the Modern Drama*, by Barrett H. Clark. New York: Appleton. pp. xi+527. \$3.50.

About half the book is given to England and America. Clark carries out rigorously his own description of the book as 'a handbook for study'. Space is rigorously economized, biographical detail reduced to a minimum, while discussion of the chosen play, in numbered paragraphs, is largely thrown into the form of quasi-Socratic questions, always on points of technical interest, and with admirable alertness of mind for new solutions such as, in fact, the 'modern' drama offers or suggests in abundance, of traditional problems.

In *Anglia*, Bd. xlix, Prof. W. Schirmer gives a succinct survey of 'The Sonnet in English Literature', principally from the standpoint of metrical structure. Starting from the now established view, that the Italian sonnet originated in a union of two quasi-stanzas, which became the octave and the sestet, and that the structure based on these components is therefore fundamental, he traces the notoriously fluctuating acceptance of this law in Elizabethan and later periods of English. He scarcely does justice to the point of view that the Elizabethans—Shakespeare in particular—justified their partial infidelity to the Italian model by the beauty and power of the new mould (three quatrains and a couplet) into which they mostly recast the form. Drayton too (who was not a *one* sonnet man as we are told, p. 15) must be reckoned among the greater sonneteers. Milton, while closely following Italian forms (as Smart has shown), yet made the sonnet more individual, and in a lofty sense more English, than any predecessor. Schirmer's standpoint leads him to do perhaps more than justice to Goethe's technically very finished and beautiful sonnets, in comparison with the often irregular work of our Romantics; even Wordsworth's, 'Italian' in structure though they mainly are, and though Schirmer thinks them 'the chief basis of his fame', hardly receive their due. The climax is found in Rossetti. Mrs. Browning is treated as the imitator of a freer and more 'modern' handling of the sonnet, which ramifies far and wide in the later nineteenth century. The essay crowds a mass of useful matter into its limited compass, and glances usefully at the sonnet on the Continent. A note on Carducci's might have been added.

Professor Hugh Walker's *English Satire and Satirists*⁹ is the last of the series of volumes called 'The Channels of English Literature', each purporting to relate in outline the history, in England, of a particular literary genre. The scope of the subject, so treated, is not quite easy to define. Dr. Walker lays down, very properly, that the nature and aims of a literary species are not to be determined by its lowly origins. But the trouble is that 'satire' is itself a relatively low kind, tending in the hands of genius not to be merely supreme in that kind, but to pass over into a higher, to become creative poetry or imaginative humour. So great a satirist as Chaucer will balk the historian of his natural prey when the Wife of Bath, for instance, becomes under his hands, not the satire on celibacy, or on lascivious women, that she was perhaps originally meant to be, but a superb humorous creation. And the case is not otherwise, we think, though Dr. Walker disagrees, with the *Rape of the Lock* itself. In a brief introductory chapter this and other questions relating to the delimitation of the 'Channel' are judiciously discussed. The narrative begins, where 'English satire' itself begins, in the twelfth century. The emergence of Horatian or Juvenalian satire in the sixteenth century made a new epoch, which closed only with the rise of 'the new satire' of Burns and Byron. Its fluctuating history is told in five excellent chapters, rich in varied and often out-of-the-way learning, and on the whole lucidly ordered. The type, both in style and in metre, was not found at once; but Walker justly vindicates for Wyatt, though he leaned to Italian verse-forms, the position of the pioneer in the movement, of three centuries' duration, which culminates in Dryden and Pope. This was the persistent ground-tone of English satire, suspended, but never broken off during that period. But other varieties of satiric music, for the most part harsher and cruder, sounded again and again across this ground-tone—the diatribes of Wither, the Italianate gaiety of Suckling, the mock-Cervantean raillery of Butler, the quintessential apologues of Swift. To all these, and many more, Walker brings both the understanding of a close student and the high critical standard only attained by

⁹ *English Satire and Satirists*, by Hugh Walker. Dent. pp. viii + 325. 7s. 6d.

intimacy with the greatest things that have been written and thought. Prose satire, again, has a history of its own, which only at moments touches satire in verse, as it does in seventeenth-century epigram and 'character'. Nineteenth-century satire embarked on new ways of its own, abruptly discarding the tradition of Dryden and Pope; and Walker's last chapter describes, with the scholarship we expect from the historian of *Victorian Literature*, the several varieties of the satirist's 'indignation' which made memorable literature in Hood, Browning, Thackeray, Arnold, and Butler.

We turn to a series of books and articles devoted to individual problems of criticism. In 'Smith College Studies in Modern Languages' (April 1924) Miss Rose F. Egan completes her valuable study of *The Genesis of the Theory of 'Art for Art's Sake' in Germany and in England*, of which the first section appeared in the same Studies in 1921. This is summarized in the opening pages of the present article. M. Lanson had already, as she points out, 'marked out the main roads' for the investigator of the origins of the doctrine, clearly distinguishing the form of it current among the early French Romantics from that proclaimed by the Flauberts and the Paters of the later century; and pointing to its probable origin—Kant and the German Romantic, Friedrich Schlegel. This fruitful and substantially accurate suggestion Miss Egan follows up and develops by a penetrating account of the whole intricate chapter of aesthetic history in which these, with Schiller and Goethe, and Fichte and Schelling, are the centres of interest and influence. When Kant defined artistic creation as 'imagination's free conformity to law', he was in effect founding the doctrine of the artist's autonomy which philosophers who knew little of art transmitted to artists who knew nothing of philosophy. In this field, as in ethics and metaphysics, Kant did in fact discover an issue from dilemmas which had filled the eighteenth century with barren debate. Between the claims of the neo-classics to impose 'rules' and the claim of the 'Sturm und Drang' to follow 'nature' or the lawless impulses of genius, he intervened with the profound conception of an inner law, in free service of which the imagination, in creation, works. How Schiller's more sensuous and sensitive intellect, fertilized

and enriched by Kant, transformed his doctrine into his own brilliant and exalted aestheticism, has often been told, and Miss Egan points out clearly and precisely how the process bore upon the evolution of the 'Art for Art's sake'. That 'Art' (*Kunst*) itself now acquired a new connotation—came to stand, not for execution according to rules, but for creation according to the law of the imagination, was not merely a symptom of the process, but a sign that it was potentially complete. Schiller's ethical idealism, but for the Kantian bent of his thought, might have made him the stern antagonist of 'art for art's sake' which ethical idealists are apt to be in Anglo-Saxon communities. But 'art' with him, the supreme educative instrument of moral good, was itself sovrantly detached from actuality of any kind, a 'play' emancipated from all the limitations imposed by the senses and understanding, even those, for instance, involved in the distinction between one art and another. When the arts come to resemble one another, he says in the aesthetic *Briefe* (preparing the way for Wagner), they achieve more than is possible within the limits of a single type. Each of the greater thinkers and poets contributed something to this common conception of art as Freedom won through fulfilment of an inner law. Friedrich Schlegel (the most original of the German Romantics) brought the notion of 'Irony' as the mark of the artist's lofty and amused detachment. Fichte and Schelling exalted the nature of the artist, and thus justified his autonomy, by making personality and creative genius (in their several fashions) unique and divine. Goethe, exalting individuality no less, urged as the condition of self-fulfilment self-restraint. We trust that Miss Egan will proceed to trace the transformations of this German doctrine in the alien temperaments of artists and thinkers beyond the Rhine and the North Sea.

Mr. W. C. Brownell's *The Genius of Style*¹⁰ is an attempt, by one who has passed through a long discipline both of thought and practice in these matters, to press closer to the secret of what we admire in writing that we call 'good'. Mr. Brownell is acutely aware of the problem—which we often ignore—involved

¹⁰ *The Genius of Style*, by W. C. Brownell. New York: Scribners. pp. 226. 10s. net.

in our demand both for something to be expected in all good writers and something in addition which is personal to each, and without which we find even his 'goodness' wanting in savour, and missing, as it were in the act of reaching, the end of good writing. His first chapter explains, with many subtle elaborations, the former or, as he calls it, the 'objective' element in style; constituted by 'order' and 'movement'. 'How the artist subjectively handles—or neglects—the objective element of style is *his* style', and this discrimination occupies the important second chapter. He encounters Buffon's famous dictum, of course, at the outset, an epigram of now recognized ambiguity, the true and intended sense of which he sets aside as irrelevant for his purpose, while the current sense ignores our special problem. In architecture, on the other hand, he finds examples, of illuminating force, of the union of the 'objective' and the individual quality, both in transcendent degree. Many writers have dwelt upon the contrast of Greek and Gothic style—the individual quality of each. Brownell admirably emphasizes the elements of objective style which they possess in common: 'Both do more than merely embody the characteristic manner of thought and feeling of their respective periods and countries. . . . In addition, both are interpenetrated with the spirit of order and movement, of abstract form vivifying concrete expression by pouring into it the universal elements of harmony and rhythm.' In the chapter on 'The Art of Prose' he pleads for something beyond both these senses of style—'aesthetic' quality, a 'richer' prose in short, and he criticizes with effect Arnold's reflection on the style of Burke and of Ruskin, as well as kindred formulas for perfect style as the 'simple, sincere, and direct'. Brownell's own style, precise, finely articulated, colourless, is the reverse of 'Asiatic'; but no champion of Asiatic luxuriance of expression could analyse more effectively the fallacies incident to the unqualified canonization of 'simplicity'.

In the first of his *Two Studies in Epic Theory* (*Mod. Phil.* xxii) Mr. Ralph C. Williams traces the intricate discussion by the literary theorists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Italy and France, of the demand, in epic, for 'verisimilitude' and the interpretation of this demand in view of the generally

accepted requirement of 'marvel'. The strong rationalist bent of classicist criticism tended to make the former demand absolute, and both Homer and Aristotle supported the adherents of 'verisimilitude' against those who stickled for 'veracity'. But Homer and Aristotle also compelled the admission of marvel as an intrinsic element in epic, and this led to a variety of ingenious explanations and accommodations, described and distinguished with patient scholarship by Mr. Williams. The second study points out a hitherto unsuspected plagiarism by Georges de Scudéry from Tasso's epic theory. This occurs in the Preface to his *Alaric ou Rome Vaincue*. That this epic was greatly influenced by Tasso's *Gerusalemme* has long been known. But no one had suspected that the Preface also is freely paraphrased from Tasso's *Discorso del Poema Heroico*. This Williams makes clear by ample quotations in parallel columns.

In her little essay, *Poetry and Criticism*,¹¹ Miss Sitwell makes a vehement protest against the ways of much modern criticism in its dealings with much modern poetry. She reminds critics of the kind referred to of the egregious errors of critics in the past when confronted by the originalities of Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, and Tennyson. 'There is not the slightest difference between the criticism of the past and the criticism of to-day [some exceptions being duly allowed] excepting that the latter are more vulgar, and often more personally abusive.' The points at issue are, however, not the same. Wordsworth battled for a poetry not verbally distinct from prose. This teaching (though it hardly held the real *vis* of the Wordsworthian revelation) led, Miss Sitwell thinks, to 'monstrous excesses of dulness'. It is therefore time to return to an earlier, Elizabethan or Jacobean, tradition. It is scarcely, however, on any 'traditional' grounds that she vindicates the 'technique' and the 'original vision' of modernist poetry. She says with justice that the senses of many people are practically unused, and convey to the brain only the limited information determined by convention and habit; 'the modernist poet's brain is becoming', on the contrary, 'a central sense, interpreting and controlling the other five senses'. This, as a postu-

¹¹ *Poetry and Criticism*, by Edith Sitwell. Hogarth Press. pp. 28. 2s. 6d.

late, if not as a fact, is strikingly put. But Miss Sitwell hardly recognizes how precarious, for the poet himself, this doctrine, freely acted on, still is; and her own illustration from a Modernist 'aubade'—'the morning light creaks down again'—in spite of her six lines of explanation, does little, in our view, to support it.

Mr. Edwin H. Zeydel, in a brief article, *Sociological Aspects of Criticism* (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. xxxix), points to the growing but still incomplete recognition of social conditions, in particular the character, wants, and opinions of the public or audience, as a transforming factor in all literature. He exemplifies Schücking's application of this doctrine to the study of Shakespeare's characters, and refers to the sociological treatment of literature by the new school of Sauer and Nadler, with which he proposes to deal later in another article.

Mr. Paul Kauffmann, in *Defining Romanticism: A Survey and a Program* (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. xl), takes up the problem, felt by all careful writers on literature to be increasingly urgent (cf. A. Lovejoy, *On the Discrimination of Romanticism* (*P. M. L. A.*, xxxix)—that of reaching an agreement as to the connotation of this now almost useless term. He proposes a systematic campaign, with the object of reaching, by a survey of past and current usage, a serviceable definition. Three points of special difficulty are recognized: 1. The relation of 'romance' and 'romanticism'—distinct but constantly identified or confused. 2. The necessity of distinguishing between form, content, and temper in the application of the term. 3. The question as to 'the fields of human interest in which we shall decide romanticism to be a proper descriptive term; is it to be confined to aesthetics, or to be treated as philosophic, or as sociologic? or may it denote a fundamental impulse in human nature ('rebellion against restraints, *élan vital*', &c.)?

Mr. Middleton Murry has chosen to give his volume of critical essays a challenging title.¹² But he discounts its apparent implication by explaining that his 'discoveries' are such only for himself. The gist of the book is, we are told, the con-

¹² *Discoveries: Essays on Literary Criticism*, by John Middleton Murry. Collins. pp. 314. 7s. 6d.

tention that Shakespeare is 'the key to modern literature, and the standard by which it is to be judged'. Even so we might demur; an absolute standard, if there be one, cannot ignore the Greeks, cannot ignore Dante. But Mr. Murry does not in reality start from Shakespeare. If Shakespeare provides 'the key to modern literature', the Russian novelists, in particular Dostoevsky, have first provided him with the key to Shakespeare. He sees Shakespeare from the angle of Dostoevsky, somewhat as Ulrici or Gervinus saw him from the angle of Hegel, or as Tieck saw him from the angle of myth and fairy lore. The 'key' Shakespeare, for him, is the Shakespeare of the last period, which to our eyes (perhaps illusively) appears touched, or even permeated, by the ideal of reconciliation. 'Shakespeare's *Mirandas* and *Perditas* are the counterpart of Dostoevsky's *Alyosha*.' The attempt to interpret Shakespeare as a whole from this angle gives occasion to much finely phrased but very questionable criticism. The opening essay on 'The Nature of Poetry' continues the same theme, the 'nature of poetry and the nature of Shakesperean poetry' being declared to be the same thing. It may seem hazardous, even so, to find 'The Phoenix and the Turtle' 'the most perfect short poem in any language' on the ground that 'a virginal suprasensual love' is 'the highest experience which it is possible in poetry to give'. But here Mr. Murry seems to be adopting standards outside literature, to which neither Shakespeare nor even Dostoevsky provides the 'key'.

Even if 'English work' be interpreted strictly as work done in English literature and language, the publication of the two volumes of W. P. Ker's *Essays*¹³ must be reckoned amongst the most signal events recorded here. Most of the thirty-nine essays collected had indeed been published before—as lectures at Oxford or Cambridge, at the Sorbonne, or before learned societies elsewhere, sometimes as shorter essays in *T.L.S.* The collection opens, fitly, even symbolically, with the essay on 'the Elizabethan voyagers'. For though Elizabethan voyaging itself produced little notable literature, nothing comparable, as Ker notes, with the Portuguese and Spanish romances and epics of

¹³ *Collected Essays of W. P. Ker*. With an Introduction by C. Whibley. Macmillan. pp. xxi + 362; vi + 352. 25s.

exploration, it was yet a symptom of audacities and splendours in intellect and imagination which became articulate in that literature elsewhere; and a kindred temper became articulate in the criticism and the scholarship of Ker. Not that the immense range of his learning, all of it wonderfully alive and *erlebt*, could be resolved by any such simple equation. He was as sensitive to the most elaborate artistries of literature as to its simplicities. Yet there is a perceptible quickening of the pulse and of the pace, a touch of eagerness, of abandon, when he is tracing these artistries in ballad and folksong, where art is nearest to the stir and thrill of living actuality; and the half-dozen papers on the ballads bear more vividly perhaps than any others the stamp of his personality. Artist and climber, at once, himself, he brought to the interpretation of all other artistries the thrill which is the antithesis of pedantry. Even the Eighteenth Century, in his hands, has 'put off the sober vesture of Carlyle's Age of Prose, and become one of the greatest ages of the world in artistic imagination', as well as 'the great heroic age of England'. He saw with luminous clearness its recoveries of medieval, its premonitions of modern, romance, and described the former in one of the most memorable chapters of the *C.H.E.L.* His work upon this age will be spoken of in more detail in chapter x of this survey. Of all our critics it was probably Dryden who was most to his mind: Dryden, whose 'virtue', as he says in the great introductory essay here (perhaps needlessly) reprinted, 'is that in a time when literature was pestered and cramped with formulas he found it impossible to write otherwise than freely', and who expressed his own and his exponent's temper in the kindling sentence about the Heroic Poem, as when 'truly such', 'undoubtedly the greatest work which the soul of man is capable to perform'.

The eleventh volume of *Essays and Studies*¹⁴ deals with several periods and aspects of English study, but two of the articles may be conveniently dealt with here. Mr. A. N. Monckhouse's 'The Words and the Play' is a shrewd and reasoned *plaidoyer*, by a dramatist and dramatic critic of note, with stage-heretics of various types between the kinema, which would

¹⁴ *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*. Vol. XI. Collected by Oliver Elton. O.U.P. pp. 169. 7s. 6d.

abolish words altogether, and 'listening in', which abolishes everything else. Mr. H. V. Routh's essay, 'This World's Ideas of the Next', if less comprehensive than this title suggests, is a very impressive survey of the vast and complex history of other-world theories between the Christian era and Dante.

Finally, a little group of anthologies. Mr. Welby claims, very justly, that he has gathered 'of the best' in our poetry, 'so far as that is not already available in Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*'.¹⁵ Had he not chosen, surely with more modesty than discretion, to call it *The Silver Treasury*, no one would have suggested that it was a collection of the second-best. Several other modern anthologists, recognizing the defects of Palgrave's admirable book, have desired, like Mr. Binyon, to supplement it. Mr. Binyon has done this chiefly by adding the poetry of the last thirty or forty years. But Mr. Welby has drawn only upon the poetry scattered within Palgrave's limits of time, and his taste inclines to explore rather the earlier than the later regions of this vast domain. Palgrave was scarcely an Elizabethan in our sense, and he missed much of its wilder, as well as of its less decorous, music. He lived, too, before the age of Donne, and of Clare, was suspicious of Rochester, and not quite comfortable with Blake. In all these directions, and others, Mr. Welby has raised the barriers and let in much rare and brilliant poetry, such as the beautiful 'Lament for the Ruined Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham' (a poignant utterance of the Catholic side of the Reformation), Raleigh's 'The Wood, the Weed, the Wag', Rochester's 'A Drinking Cup', Clare's 'The Dying Child', and more than twelve songs of Blake. But there is much too that Palgrave would doubtless have included had his space allowed: Fletcher's 'Hear, ye Ladies that Despise', Dyer's 'Grongar Hill', Keats's 'Melancholy', Landor's 'Rose Aylmer' and 'Dirce', Poe's 'To Helen', Beddoes's 'If thou wilt ease thy heart', Marvell's 'Definitions of Love', and much more. The selection is made with a sure and fine taste.

A few words will suffice for the useful Anthology of Old and

¹⁵ *The Silver Treasury of English Lyrics*, ed. by T. Earle Welby. Chapman and Hall. pp. ix+235. 10s. 6d.

Middle English which Mr. G. Sampson has provided as a supplement or companion to the corresponding chapters of the *C. H. E. L.*¹⁶ Its scope is in general determined, as the plan requires, by that of the History; but this has made rather for enlargement than for limitation of the usual contents of Old and Middle English readers. We note, for instance, with pleasure the extracts from the *Mabinogion* illustrating the Arthurian legend. The Introductions to the several pieces by the editor are rightly drawn largely from the salient corresponding passages of the History. The General Introduction commends the portion of our older literature to the beginner rather than to the advanced student, but with a persuasive charm not always associated, as here, with ripe scholarship. As a mere matter of economy in time and type we could wish that the editor's acknowledgements for leave to reprint could have been made collectively in the preface instead of under each piece in the Table of Contents.

Mr. Havelock Ellis's *Impressions and Comments*¹⁷ fall into many other categories more appropriately than into that of 'English Work'. Literature forms but one of the countless strands of interest, observation, imagination, reflection, which are woven, 'not laboriously but luckily', into the texture of pages which constitute, as he says, rather a journal than a book. But the occasional comments on literature are often remarkable in their unsought, unlaboured felicity, and the criticism gains in richness and subtlety by the writer's sensitive familiarity with other mediums of artistic expression—architecture, painting, music. Thus in a discussion of his thesis that every nation is great only in one style of architecture he drops by the way the illuminating sentence: 'Flaubert in his *Tentation* is a great Norman architect'. Brief or discursive notes disengage unfamiliar aspects of Shakespeare, Rossetti, Addison and Steele, Meredith, and many more. And it may not be out of place to close this introductory chapter of *The Year's Work* with

¹⁶ *The Cambridge Book of Prose and Verse: From the Beginnings to the Cycles of Romance*, ed. by George Sampson. C.U.P. pp. xxxviii + 438. 10s. 6d.

¹⁷ *Impressions and Comments*. First and Second Series (now reissued). Constable. pp. 262, 248. 6s. each.

Mr. Ellis's pregnant 'character' of the land and people of which English literature is the child :

'What a strange fate it is that made England! A little ledge of beautiful land in the ocean, to draw and keep all the men in Europe who had the sea in their hearts and the wind in their brains, daring children of Nature, greedy enough and romantic enough to trust their fortunes to waves and to gales. The most eccentric of peoples, all the world says, and the most acquisitive, made to be pirates and made to be poets, a people that have fastened their big teeth into every quarter of the globe, and flung their big hearts in song at the feet of Nature, and even done both things at the same time. The man who wrote the most magnificent sentence in the English language was a pirate and died on the scaffold.'

II

PHILOLOGY : GENERAL WORKS

[By J. R. R. TOLKIEN]

It is merry in summer 'when shaws be sheen and shrads full fair and leaves both large and long'. Walking in that wood is full of solace. Its leaves require no reading. There is another and a denser wood where some are obliged to walk instead, where saws are wise and screeds are thick and the leaves too large and long. These leaves we must read (more or less), hapless vicarious readers, and not all we read is solace. The tree whereon these leaves grow thickest is the *Festschrift*, a kind of growth that has the property of bearing leaves of many diverse kinds. To add to the labour of inspecting them the task of sorting them under the departments of philology to which they belong would take too long. With a few exceptions we must take each tree as it comes.

In the wood of 1925 appeared *Anglica*¹ in honour of Brandl's seventieth birthday; *Probleme der englischen Sprache und Kultur*² in honour of J. Hoops' sixtieth; *Germanica*,³ a monument to Sievers and his seventy-fifth birthday; *Neusprachliche Studien*⁴ in honour of Luick's sixtieth birthday; and *Mélanges de Philologie*⁵ offered to Vising on his seventieth. These works continue to appear, doubtless, because they offer special facilities for the publication of notes and articles sometimes too long and

¹ *Anglica: Untersuchungen zur englischen Philologie* (*Palaestra* 147 and 148). Leipzig: Mayer & Müller. pp. (Band I) 184, (Band II) 474.

² *Probleme der englischen Sprache und Kultur* (*Germanische Bibliothek, II. Abteilung*, 20), herausg. von W. Keller. Heidelberg: Winter. pp. viii + 270.

³ *Germanica: Eduard Sievers zum 75. Geburtstage*. Halle a. d. Saale: Niemeyer. pp. x + 727. 40s.

⁴ *Neusprachliche Studien* (*Die Neueren Sprachen*, 6. Beiheft). Marburg: Elwert. pp. 279.

⁵ *Mélanges de Philologie offerts à M. Johan Vising*. Göteborg (Gumperts); Paris (Champion). pp. xii + 419. Limited to 250 copies.

elaborate, sometimes too fugitive and slight, for the ordinary and overcrowded receptacles. Chiefly they are due to affection and honour for great names and figures, and are a melancholy reminder of the age of the older generation of giants who have laboured in the service of Philologia and have deserved so well of her.

In this chapter we are only concerned with *Band I (Sprache und Kulturgeschichte)* of *Anglica*, and with the first part of this. *Kulturgeschichte* indeed is represented only by *Die Selbständigkeitsbewegung der englischen Kolonien* (Dibelius)—which belongs to a class of writing for which there appears to be an astonishing appetite in Germany to-day—and *The Reform of Modern Language Teaching in the Dutch Universities* (Falconer), which is interesting and instructive. In the linguistic part there are seven articles, all worthy of attention. Two of them in the field of place-name studies will be dealt with below. Professor Horn takes a special case of *Zweck und Ausdruck in der Sprache* and discusses negation in English, regarded as a field in which the struggle between the diverging needs of practical utility and expressiveness is specially observable.

It is in a line with his other recent writings, though the workings of *Affekt* in altering forms and disturbing the normal phonological developments are here more convincingly made out. The article, which runs to less than eighteen pages, is not, of course, exhaustive or profound, but it deals with, or touches on, several points of interest, for instance: the history of the form and significance of such negatives as *nealles* (*naes*), the compounds with *wiht*, and *never*; the decay of the repeated negative in English; and the employment of *do*. The foot-notes are well provided with references.

Keltisches im englischen Verbum has an engaging title. It invites scepticism at the outset, for there are hitherto not many of those interested in English who, like Professor M. Förster, confess to an interest in Celtic or dare to mingle the two studies. Professor Keller's article is none the less worthy of attention, especially in the matter of the forms in *b-* of the verb 'to be' in Old English. It is impossible not to agree that many of the OE. forms from the *b-* stem, and the (partial) differentiation

of their use, are remarkable in their isolation in Germanic, and still more remarkable in their similarity (and even identity in use) to the *b-* forms of Welsh. The closest point of contact is, of course, OE. *bið*, used as a consuetudinal, a future, and sometimes indistinguishably from the present, as compared with Welsh *byð*, with the same uses (which are proper to the whole tense to which it belongs). The peculiar OE. subjunctive *béo* also recalls the Welsh subjunctive *bo*, &c. It does not seem probable (nor is it expressly suggested by Keller) that we have to assume direct borrowing of any single form—even in the case of *bið*, *byð*, this is not phonologically likely; the forms of either language permit of explanation from their own native material. But at least worthy of consideration is the possibility that the peculiar development in OE. of two different ‘present’ paradigms, partly differentiated in use is due to British influence—due, that is, to the transference of British habits of speech to English in the mouths of Britons, accustomed to associate differences of function with the *b-* forms of the verb. *Bið*, which offers difficulties of etymology from the purely Germanic point of view, would then, though constructed from native material (*b-* + the *-iþ* of the third person), be due to imitation rather than mere adoption of *byð* (or its antecedents), where actually *-ð* has nothing to do with the third person at all in origin. This is an interesting theory, and in keeping with what can be observed in the development of invading languages elsewhere; unfortunately we know all too little of the relations of Briton and Saxon. Keller’s theory of the influence of Scandinavian speech-habits at a later period on the English verb (below, p. 45) should be compared.

The second part of the article (*Englisches und keltisches Gerundium*) is not so striking. The development studied—the difficult question of the English uses of the verbal noun in *-ing*—belongs admittedly to a later time when the sort of influence envisaged is no longer likely. The verbal noun and its uses in Celtic and English are not lightly to be compared in a few pages. The elaborate study of the English gerund noted below was not, of course, known at the time of writing.

Professor Hoops contributes *Werder, Rasen und Wiese, eine Untersuchung zur germanischen Wortgeschichte*—not *Weltge-*

schichte as the table of contents (faulty in other particulars, see p. 39) has it, which would attribute to the author a theory of a wet green world for primitive Germans that is no part of his article. This actually is an interesting etymological study, and an attempt to unravel the tangled connexions of a group of words represented in the title and in OE. *wær*, *waroð*, *wāse*, *wōs*, *wār*, *waru*, *weorð*, *wer* (weir), not to detail other German and Scandinavian words connected with these. The words are not, of course, all etymologically related. The article will interest both lexicographers and place-namers. The author says that he has not permitted himself to follow up many of the interesting side-issues. Knowing how these little lexicographical chases open vista after vista and one complication after another, we can well believe that much self-denial was practised to keep the notes down to thirteen pages. Space here does not allow us to describe the hunt afresh.

Professor Luick's article we reserve for consideration with his article in *Germanica*. *Zum deutsch-englischen Wörterbuch*, contributed by Liebermann, is of interest primarily to Germans and secondarily to all lexicographers. We are reminded what a struggle these patient fellows have trying to keep pace with the world, with their labour ever at the mercy of the reckless. We learn that, after the great enlargement of *der deutsche Geist* in the nineteenth century, the principal cause of the deficiencies in the three chief German-English dictionaries is the 'general haste and fever of modern life grasping at sensation, tearing ideas to pieces, turning ethical values upside down, and introducing finer nuances into the language of poetry, art, and science'.

Sympathy will be felt with the plea that linguistic history belongs to the dictionary of an individual language and should not cumber a work that is a bridge between two modern languages; and with the plea for a wider and less puristic range of German words to be glossed (from all sources, colloquialisms, slang, dialect, technical language, and journalese), and to be glossed more generously and idiomatically. Even in the comparatively narrow range of philological writings there are many words belonging to the youngest *Schicht* of the vocabulary of that mystery that the ordinary Englishman can only exactly

gloss after a close study of different contexts (if then), however well known the component parts may be. It is arguable, none the less—a point of view not represented in the article—that ultimately no dictionary will, or should, be able to get rid of the necessity for this sort of attention, or dispense with wide reading, painful reading at the outset, as the inevitable road to exact understanding of writings in a foreign language. It is impossible to avoid the feeling that the scheme outlined for organizing and canalizing the observations of all German students of modern English to one centre for the enrichment of a revised German-English dictionary somewhat over-values the functions of a bridge-dictionary. But a perfect dictionary is an attractive mirage, and its nearest possible realization an aesthetic joy—appreciated most by those least in need of it.

A curious list is given at the end of the article. It contains several hundreds of words drawn from the Rev. A. J. Carlyle's *History of Mediaeval Political Theory* (entire) with the addition of one number each of *The New Statesman* and the *Manchester Guardian*. The most exact German gloss (a gloss not to be found in the chief dictionaries) precedes; the English follows. With some of the omissions it is possible to sympathize, with others to be surprised—such as *grappling with problems*, *earned income*, *to motor*, *a trawler*, *to whetten* (sic) *the ardour of*. It is perhaps disappointing to learn that German has nothing nearer than *viel zuwege bringen* for 'to cut much ice'; but the 'English' is a pointless expression, at any rate in England where ice-cutting is not a familiar pastime.

Germanica is a tree of altogether larger girth and bigger branches—a not unworthy reminder of the honour and affection, the great tale of years, and the great work achieved by Sievers. In addition to its 727 pages it has several illustrations, and two portraits of Sievers. The *Tabula Gratulatoria* (pp. iii–viii) contains nearly 200 names, a list so large and drawn from so many countries that it is not possible to avoid the comment in passing that, except for the impersonal Taylor Institution, Oxford, it contains no name from the British Empire or from France.

The mere list of contents would take too much space to detail. All the contributions come more or less justly under the heading

Germanica (the connexions of Porzig's *Das Rätsel im Rigveda* are not close) and so all have an interest, more or less direct, for English philology. Those dealing most directly with German or Germany have this connexion least. The article by V. Michels on the history of German accentuation (pp. 39–90) is an exception: the developments in German of the modern and recent periods show remarkable similarity to English and are well worth noting even by one with little direct interest in German; moreover, in this relatively long and elaborate article many points of common Germanic philology with direct bearing on English are dealt with. Such are the discussion of the accentuation of nominal and verbal compounds, and the reopening (or the continuation) of the debate concerning the history of the perfect-reduplication in Germanic. The author, in a Sievers *Festschrift*, feels the necessity for apology; more than once he disclaims that finer ear which is necessary for the application of the more recent theories to these problems. What he has to say is none the less worth reading.

L. Bloomfield's article (*Einiges vom germanischen Wortschatz*, pp. 90–106) is concerned chiefly with German, and largely with German colloquial and dialectal oddities. There is, however, a not uninteresting discussion, and long lists, of the words with geminated consonants (*hoppian*) that cause so much etymological stumbling, even when the Kluge-Bezzenberger 'sound-law' is admitted, from the earliest Germanic onwards. The article is valuable, too, in emphasizing, if that is necessary, the fact that *Urindogermanisch*, even when literally incredible ingenuity is revealed in getting back to it, fails to account for the larger part of our vocabulary; and in insisting that the linguistic principles so far established are still the tools by which many of the remaining problems are to be solved. *Lautsymbolik* comes in for scorn; but by it is apparently meant creation in the void (without pre-existing models developed regularly), and 'spontaneous gemination' and the like. *Lautsymbolik* of the sort that attaches significance to sound-groups developed at first mechanically, and extends their use, is of the essence of the article. Why it should more than once be called 'naïve' is not made clear. Once you admit even naïve feeling, however vague, for the significance of certain groups of sounds you have *Laut-*

symbolik of a sort, and it requires attention. The grouping of words which is here offered both in rhyming and in alliterative series (*flame, flare, flash, &c.*; *flash, splash, &c.*) brings out many interesting points of word-formation.

It was not to be expected that all the difficulties could even be touched on. One misses notably the *-gg-* words (*dog, wag*) that from an OE. point of view present especial difficulty for Mr. Bloomfield's thesis, since it is far from clear in what cases they could have been developed with phonological regularity and so available for extension. Looking at *wag* alone—and it is part of the difficulty of the field on whose borders this article touches that we need as a preliminary much clearer documentation of each individual word in each language than we are likely ever to get—mere juxtaposition in a list without dates with, say, *drag, sag, flag, rag*, would not lead very far. Here we find *wagian, wazien*, at a fairly definite moment in English, on the one hand continuing its lawful history until it gives the doomed and inexpressive *wawe*, on the other being ousted by (or transformed into) *wagge-n*. What are the models? *Drag* appears to be much later. It looks like 'spontaneous gemination', or, if you will, deliberate and significant alteration.

There follows an interesting article on one group of related names in Germanic and Romance for the pole-cat, wherein H. Suolahti pursues this animal (less easily trailed in etymology than in nature) over most of North-West Europe. English *fitchew, fitchet* are incidentally dealt with. Many other articles of equal or greater interest must be passed over, as being too remote from our immediate concerns. It is impossible to exclude bare mention, all the same, of H. Lindroth's article on the *Röstein* inscription in Bohuslän (a by-product of which is an illumination of the question of the survival of I-E. adjectival *-uent* in Germanic, and the matter of OE. *-wende, -wynde*); of Falk's note on the Old Norse names of the hawk and falcon, which naturally has things to say about several English words; of Mogk's contribution *Nordgermanische Götterverehrung nach den Kultquellen*, which offers a rapid and remarkably clear sketch of the evidence of sagas and place-names on the question of Odin's position, and concludes that nowhere in the Germanic world, and least of all Scandinavia, was there ever a Woden-Odin that

was a god of the sky; or of J. Schatz's twenty-six pages on the variant forms of Old High German weak verbs (*sparēn* : *sparōn*), in which much that is of importance to OE. is to be found. The contribution of Luise Berthold, *Die Quellen für die Grundgedanken von V. 235-851 der altsächsisch-angelsächsischen Genesis*, calls also for note. A new etymology of the name *Beowulf* is offered by E. Wadstein, which yields the sense (we have not space to show how) 'windwolf', and sets that much discussed hero in a new light, lord of the Wederas and of Wedermeare (mark you), as a wind-demon harrier of the sea. To this we may extend a qualified welcome. Professor M. Förster returns to a favourite theme, personal names, in *Die Französierung des englischen Personennamenschatzes*. The supplanting of nearly the whole of the native English system of 'christian' names by importations, and the generation of a host of family names from these new baptismal names, are the main points studied. *Edmund, Edgar, Edith, Edward*, are offered as the sole true survivors of the flood. Is the evidence all against poor *Edwin* then? Does he appear only as a romantic revival? This interesting question of the resuscitation of OE. names in bookish forms is not, however, touched on, and we must perhaps wait for further contributions from this pen to learn more about *Oswald, Cuthbert, Dunstan, Oswine, Wulfstan, Ethelbert*, and the rest, all of which are borne by individuals at the present moment (in secret or in pride); or of *Alfred* whose book-learned form has travelled abroad, while his more genuine form lingers in the University latin *Aluredus* (the original significance of which is now comically misrepresented).

The family-name history is illustrated by a study of the progeny of *Robert* (known also to his friends as *Nob, Hob, Rob, and Dob*), which includes names as far-sundered as *Radbird* and *Binkie*.

The three chief articles from the point of view of English studies remain: *Zur altenglischen Flexion*, by H. Weyhe; Luick's contributions to *Germanica* and to *Anglica*, which must be taken together, if only for the curious fact that the title in *Anglica* belongs to the article in *Germanica* and vice versa; *Funktion, Affekt, Gliederzahl und Laut* (*Beiträge aus dem Englischen*), by B. Borowski.

Weyhe's article deals with certain points of OE. phonology—the present participle of the \bar{o} -verbs in Anglian; *hēah*, *heanne*, *hierra*, and related questions; spirantal *g* medially and finally in OE. inflected words. Other points are touched on incidentally. It is worthy of attention by all who are concerned with the details of OE. The first point is of especial interest, since these verbs maintain their importance in ME. and offer noteworthy features for study with bearings on the morphological history of the whole language. Interesting light is thrown on Epinal 79 *soęrgendi* (Corpus *sorgendi*), which has importance for the yet unsettled question of the widespread and abundantly evidenced ME. *se(o)rewe*, sorrow. The second point is not perhaps conclusively treated, though it should be considered, as well as the incidental treatment of the similar (but held to be distinct) consonant lengthenings of the types exemplified by *andettan*, *æmette*, *þrittig*, *attres*, *gemitting*, most of which have their sequel in ME. The third point deals chiefly with the phenomena of secondary retraction and fronting of medial *g* in late OE., and the complexities arising from the disturbing of the normal phonetic developments by various formal analogies.

Luick's articles deal with the representation of foreign \bar{a} in loan words that have entered the language since the fifteenth century, and with the closely related matter of the development of ME. *au* (*chaunce*, *all*, *talk*, *calf*, &c.). The theory is advanced that *au* developed, in all cases though at different times, not direct to \bar{e} but to \bar{a} , and that this \bar{a} only became \bar{e} later in the process of a second vowel-shift (which included the movements of $\bar{æ}$, \bar{e}) of a minor nature but comparable to the 'great vowel-shift'. It is ingeniously urged and has points of great attraction. In *Anglica* (though under a title which applies to the foregoing, with the correction, that is, of *altenglischen* to *neuenglischen*!) we have a further study of the representation of certain foreign vowels, principally \bar{i} and \bar{u} , in loan words, and of the criteria for deciding, where possible, whether these are derived from French or direct from Latin (*machine*, *cite*). Sympathy may be felt with Luick's apology, at the end of the article in *Germanica*, for not employing *Schallanalyse* in his study—because 'ich fühle mich in ihrer Handhabung noch nicht sicher genug, um sie für die Ermittlung der Lautwerte in älteren

Texten zu verwenden'. This is made perhaps more poignant by being printed opposite a photograph of Sievers in his home in the act of making a sound-record, with thumbs up and appropriate machinery.

Borowski, whose *Lautdubletten im Altenglischen*, 1924, was unfortunately omitted last year, dedicates a long article (pp. 273-312) to English. The theme is the now familiar one that the old purely phonetic method⁶ of solving linguistic problems has provided us with rich results and is still the basis of any attempt to push our inquiries farther, but that it leaves in English and other languages whole series of problems untouched, and does not provide the key to them. For instance, unsolved is the question of the frequent alternative forms that appear in texts from the earliest times down to early modern English. Probably too often we have been content with attributing these variants to 'border-dialect', or to translation from one dialect to another, or to the peculiarities of later copyists. Here we prick up our ears. Are we going to have more theories and elaborate studies based on an almost mystical belief in chance-preserved manuscripts, often of most obscure tradition, as the *vera imago* of the speech of various persons unknown, represented in miraculous fidelity of detail? When we reach the end of the article, however, we must confess that we have been in the hands of an able linguist, who can keep more than one thing in view at a time, and who is really prepared to reckon (at any rate in theory) with the collateral possibilities of tradition; his enthusiasm does not amount to monomania. (The good point is made at the outset that variant forms of the same word appear even in such texts, including commas, as the *Ayenbite*, where if anywhere we may assume that we have something like the representation of an individual's language. Though we may venture to add that precisely here the author's explanations appear at their least convincing.) As a general criticism it would probably be urged by those of less enthusiasm (whether from prejudice or dull ears or both) that the explanations offered, as apart from the facts and statistics, require us to believe that

⁶ The author's words. But it is difficult to see why 'phonetic' does not apply equally to his own methods, though the analysis of sounds and tone-nuances may be finer and more profound.

many Old and Middle English scribes possessed not only an unusual phonetic acumen and honesty, but a skill and a consistency in the employment of their defective alphabets and jumbled spelling tradition that is astonishing.

After preliminaries, the matter is divided into: the effect of Function upon Sound (studied in the variation between OE. *būtan*, *būton*); of Emotion upon Sound (ME. *understonden*, *understanden* and *fehthen*, *fihten*); and of *Gliederung*, that is the varying number of the component parts of a rhythmical group, upon Sound (ME. *fehthen*, *fihten*—*trēow*, *trōw*, and early mod. E. *lenger*, *longer*). The statistics and argument can hardly be 'potted' here. The first two parts are easily intelligible even to the uninitiated or unmotoric. In the case of *būtan*, *būton*, at any rate, the statistics are remarkable and practically conclusive, and it is clear that in certain texts (notably the *Hatton Cura Pastoralis*) there is a nearly consistent separation made between *būtan*, the preposition, and *būton*, the conjunction. The explanation of the way in which this distinction was established is also highly interesting, if not so decisive—the result of differences of tone and dynamic accent. The preposition is held to have been weaker in stress than the conjunction. This accords with the employment of the conjunction (notably in the form *būton*) twice as a lift in *Beowulf*; it is not so easy to see how it accords with the Middle Scots distinction *but*, 'without', but *bot* 'but', which is adduced, or the long *boute* of Northern ME. and its descendants ('On Ilkla Moor baht 'At'), which is not adduced.

This is the most forcible and successful part of the article. Its success leads one to look with favour on the further sections; but even so these remain far less convincing. The cases are too few and slender to support the conclusions. The question, for instance, of *on* : *an* variation in Middle English is studied in too small a corner and in too great an isolation from Middle English as a whole (even if this is inevitable) for the argument to be cogent. Of the workings of the 'law of even and odd'—the differences of tone that exist between rhythmical groups of one or an odd number of components, and those of an even number—we are not competent to speak. The examples here offered are not convincing. It is impossible not to feel that the rules

are so refined and made so ingeniously intricate that it is difficult for the helpless facts to escape being explained by them. The skilled elaborators of the technique of phonology—for what they offer is, of course, not something entirely new in kind, but an extension and refinement of the phonologist's armoury—could, it is clear, in time find reasons and laws for all the aberrations of our manuscripts. This is good sport. But what are we to say to the young? None the less, the critic may add that, in careful and critical hands, such as Borowski's generally are, the methods of which examples are offered here, will plainly after trial and error, and in the face of valuable scepticism, arrive at the true explanations of much that has hitherto been looked on as confusion and disorder. The *Anfänger* need not rejoice. It will not make the bog less treacherous for tender feet to walk on; it will only learnedly expound to one up to his neck in it how the bog came there and what it is made of! In fact it seems that it may even tell him 'the bog is not bog, beware of the dry land!'. For we are told that the things to mistrust are all old texts that offer one form for one word (alas! how few). These are the dangerous places; these are the texts that have been tampered with, and where the student should despair. Yet we saw at the outset that this uniformity is one of the few tests we have for drawing those conclusions as to purity of tradition which are absolutely necessary as a basis of investigation. Is not this a pretty puzzle?

We cannot end without a glance at *Die rhythmischen Mittel* (R. Blümel). We do not recommend it to those who have not had previous struggles with this sort of thing; it is rather steep to begin on. Some would be left wondering which was mad, reader or writer—an attitude perhaps unjust to both. Hardened feet may tread the way. What is to be found on the journey is incapable of being put in a nutshell. The article is far too staccato, dogmatic, unexplanatory, to permit of further reduction. The author does not condescend to the weaklings or the slow apprehensions of the uninitiated; neither can he claim to have made himself particularly clear or cogent from any point of view. There is certainly too much diagrammatic ingenuity—as likely to misrepresent phenomena as to interpret them, since these are doubtless not merely as complex as Herr

Blümel makes out, but very much more so, and not so easily to be labelled and bottled.

There are some odd things thrown out by the way which seem to border on regions of investigation more generally understood, though their connexion with the central matter is not always clear. For example: originally there were no pure voiceless consonants—*r* was a product of *lh* or *th* (so *r* figures as the equivalent of *lh* in the scheme of grades of definiteness in the voicing of consonants)—*ñ* and *ŋ* do not appear before sonants and so clearly have here become *l* and *t*—and so on. All these dogmas appear to apply to the *Grundsprache* in a far-off time before any changes had affected it: in the good old days when *gonewo* meant 'knee'. There is a 'law', too, to whose definition the writer claims that he was led by communications from Sievers on individual points, which runs: a word inherited from the *Grundsprache* is in its regular phonological development still represented in all its phonetic parts and all their phonetic values and qualities even after all changes have taken place. Corollary: there is no such thing as *Zusammenfall*, only narrowing of the acoustic difference as far as *apparent* identity; there is no *Spaltung*, since every apparent case goes back to phonetic differences, of major or minor importance, as far as you like to pursue it. Example: in present-day German we still have two different Indo-European *as* (*Hahn*, *Henne*), two different *os* (*Name*, *nennen*), and *Hahn* can no more be pronounced with the *a* of *Name* than can *Henne* with the *e* of *nennen*. After this there is nothing of equal interest until we learn that the Germanic *Rhythmusart* and the Indian are *Hauptarten*. No people can possess at once two *Hauptrhythmusarten*. Since Indo-European possessed these two, the Indo-Europeans cannot have been one homogeneous people as the Germans were. The writer, it is true, shows some signs of hesitation whether to call the Germans a *Volk* or a *Verband*.

It may seem odd to refuse to give the essentials of an article and to retail isolated points. Certainly the connexion between these sayings and their context is lost (where any such was apparent), but the reliability of a witness is often to be judged not so much from his main deposition as from the things he lets out by the way. Some of these cats come out of a strange bag.

Probleme der englischen Sprache und Kultur is a slighter volume. Linguistically salutary is the article by Morsbach: *Prinzipielles zur modernen Syntaxforschung*. There are sound things said, which once would hardly have seemed necessary, in defence of the view of language as a tradition, and of the historical view generally. The thesis maintained is that while the 'psychological methods' have certainly opened up new avenues of approach, what is really new in modern methods as against old is the war waged on the historical view, whether in literature, linguistics, or art. 'Everything must be intuitive, and interpreted and understood as far as possible out of one's self as the witness of the Soul. . . . This is building in the thin air of speculation and robbing the study of its natural nourishment and foundation'—a just criticism of much that is encountered on the dim borders of the linguistic field. It is a moderate and sensible article, very polite to the adversary. The attempted rearrangement of the departments of linguistic study and the reconsideration of the place and content of syntax are worthy of note. It is followed by an article (O. Funke) on the definition of the conception 'Proper name', a relatively brief contribution to a difficult subject, which considers (chiefly) the views of Marty, of Jespersen (*Philosophy of Grammar*), and of Noreen (*Einführung in die sprachwissenschaftliche Betrachtung der Sprache*). Compare the author's *Innere Sprachform* (Reichenberg, 1924) and his article *Zum Problem von Körper- und Sprachfunktion* in Luick's *Festschrift*. On the next seven pages W. Keller deals with some features of Scandinavian influence on the inflexions of English in the occupied areas, with its sequel in Middle English. It is held that the similarity and the points of contact between ON. and OE. inflexion has not been fully appreciated, since the phonological state of the endings in ON. during the invasion periods has not been generally understood. The writer of the article holds that final *z* (Y) had not become an *r* sound; that we have, for instance, to allow for points of contact and comparison such as ON. *dagaz* : OE. *dagas*. It is true that Noreen's final opinion was that a change *-z* to *-r* has not yet been proved from early inscriptional authority, but it does not so immediately follow that there is nothing in the way of assuming that the rune Y was merely a sign for *z*. Though *R*

in Danish appears not to have become *r* until about A.D. 900 after dentals, and not until about A.D. 1100 elsewhere, the sound we symbolize by *R* may have been sufficiently different from OE. *s*, *z* sounds very seriously to diminish the supposed similarity of the inflexions of the two languages. No attempt is made to dispose of *sēr*, *sērliche*; *helder* appears to have been overlooked. The Leiden Rune-names and the *Abcdarium Nordmannicum* conflict in their evidence; the first shows clear *-r* (*naudr*) from the tenth century, the second neither *-r* nor *-z* (*naut*), possibly from the ninth. But they are rather doubtful witnesses. For the influence of Scandinavian upon the verb in the northerly areas there appears a good deal to be said. The criticism of Holmqvist's⁷ study makes two points. The statistical fixing of the 'person' where *s* (from *þ*) is most frequent does not necessarily indicate the point of origin. Still more pungently: how came OE., the whole linguistic feeling of which had for generations required no inflexional distinctions in the persons of the plural, to feel the need of a different form for the 2nd person plural, if not by Scandinavian influence? The article concludes with a theory of the OE. indicative forms *binde*, *bunde*. These are polite substitutions of the subjunctive. The question at once arises—why then the crude indicative bluntness of *band*, *bind(e)st*?

The longer article by Professor Horn on the OE. charm against elfshot is full of interest. Though it does not achieve the impossible by bringing any very brilliant illumination into this dark corner, it does something: more than has yet been done. Professor M. Förster's contribution is a discussion of the legend of the *trinubium* of St. Anne. Its only connexion, however, with the general title of the volume is that Oxford manuscripts are used beside continental ones in discussing the metrical Latin versions, while there is given the OE. version of a late Latin prose original which appears in twelfth-century transcription in MS. Cotton Vesp. D XIV. The allusions in *Cursor Mundi* and Myrc's *Festial* are recorded. But it is not on the English material that Förster's learning is chiefly expended in this long and erudite article. In yet another *Festschrift*—*Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der mittleren und neueren Geschichte und ihrer Hilfswissenschaften*, Münster—the same

⁷ See *The Year's Work*, 1922, p. 20.

learned writer contributes an interesting note: *War Nennius ein Ire?* to which we can here do no more than refer. A brief note is contributed by W. Fischer on the French of Chaucer's *Prioress*, returning to the older satirical view. Professor Holt-hausen contributes not etymology but a metrical German version of the morality, *The Pride of Life*. O. Ritter's article (*Laut-historisches zum Namen 'Don Adriano de Armado'*) develops into a fairly exhaustive study of the loan words from Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Indian, and other sources which vary in the endings between *o*, *a*, and *y*. This exhausts the articles of direct philological bearing, but not those of interest. Of these A. Cartellieri's sketch of the history and character of Richard Cœur-de-lion is good, while totally different and quite unexpectedly entertaining is J. Schick's *Indische Quellen zu Longfellow's 'Kavanagh'*, which affords a rare mixture of Longfellow, Sanskrit, and some easy simple and quadratic equations. It is to be regretted that already at the time of preparation the late Dr. R. Jordan's ill-health robbed the volume both of his contribution and his editorship.

Except from the point of view of the reviewer struggling to keep within limits of space it is unfortunate that Luick's *Festschrift* is not available. Review-copies of these works are not readily obtainable, it appears. We may say that *Germanica*, though here treated, was in like case.

There remains the luxuriously appointed *Mélanges* in honour of Professor Vising, with its thirty-two articles, bibliography of Vising's work, and its portrait. Though the articles largely operate in the field of Romance they are worthy of note by English philologists. Even where the titles seem remote from the concerns of *The Year's Work* it is frequently found, as is natural from the interrelation of all European philology, that points, minor or major, of English vocabulary or linguistic history are touched upon. There are two place-name articles definitely concerned with England; for these see below.

The following may be mentioned (the selection has reference solely to concern with English or Germanic): *Romanisches in der ältesten isländischen Literatur* (N. Beckman); *Fr. chagrin, colère* (C. S. R. Collin); *Keltische Etymologien* (E. Lidén);

Egidius > *Gilles* (K. Michaëlsson); *Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence et la 'légende de Becket'* (E. Walberg). E. Wadstein contributes an article on the etymology of OE. *wicing*, OFris. *witsing*—with no reference except in jest to the name of the master honoured. His conclusion alone can be given—that the word is derived from the *-wīk* that entered so early into Germanic and North-Sea names of commercial sea-board centres, *Sliaswīk*, *Wīc* (= *Quentovic*), *Dorestad* (*Wijk bij Duurstede*), *Bardowik*; that this is due to the inevitable mixture of piracy and commercial enterprise, illustrated but not monopolized by the later 'vikings'. In other words, it is a derivation once more from Latin *vīcus*. But the remarks of Bohnenberger on pages 139–40 of *Germanica* should be noted; see below. K. F. Sundén writes 'On the Origin of the English affirmative particle *aye* "yes"'. The theory, which will not immediately be canonized, but is well argued, is advanced that it is ultimately the first syllable of ME. *i-wisse*. The difficulties that face the inquirer into the history of *aye*: its orthographical oddity, sudden appearance and rapid spread, are not made light of. The etymology proposed appears to meet them more successfully, at least, than any other that has ever been suggested.

The chief item to be noted under the important heading of Place-names was in 1925 the issue of the first county-volume, Buckinghamshire, by the *E. P. N. S.*⁸ The main part is, of course, the body of names arranged under the eighteen hundreds in geographical sequence, and alphabetically under the hundreds. Detailed criticism is here impossible, nor does it appear probable that even one who had worked with equal labour and care over the same field would have much to offer, other than praise. Among so many entries, and so many interesting notes and etymologies, it is difficult to select any for mention. If we mention *Ivanhoe*, *Fingest*, *Marlow*, *Quainton*, *Risborough*, *Linslade*, and *Tiddington Hill* it is a mere taste, hardly a sample. The local pronunciations which are given offer a special feature of interest. The explanation of the river-names

⁸ *The Place-names of Buckinghamshire*, by A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton. English Place-name Society, vol. ii. C.U.P. pp. xxxii + 274. Two pocket-maps. 18s.

is not for the present attempted. There are excellent indexes, of the names treated, or alluded to, within and without the county; and a list of the Personal names assumed in the etymologies (without stars, starred, or double-starred—one of the additions made by place-name study to the adornment of the philological page). There is also a useful list of the elements found in Bucks. names, some of which are not in the general list in volume i. A further sample of the present volume may be afforded by a selection of those which are most noteworthy, whether from rarity or from the interest of their lexicographical, phonological, or topographical evidence: *belle*, hill; *brec* (n); *byrgen*, burial-place; *cumb*; *funta*; *hlēonap* (in Lent); ?*hlynn* (Linford); *hryding*; *lacu*; *lāf* (Marlow); *slæpe* (? read *slæp*); *strōd*; *yfre* (Iver). For *mūga*, the possible explanation of Lamua Hundred, a use as 'mound' is suggested which is not elsewhere supported in English. The Germanic cognates do not seem to support it either—unless the authors think of the (doubtfully related) O.H.G. *mū-werf*, mole. But the mound they require is larger. If the carping spirit that grumbles at so small a point amid so much excellence may be forgiven, we should like to urge again on the editors that they reconsider and regularize their use of 'stars and stripes'. Quantity marks now seem omitted, with intended consistency, in all OE. forms in black-faced type (though we have *læs*, 258: *læs*, 249). In the italic forms there are remarkable variations: pp. 170-1, *hrīsen*, *hris*, *hrīsenan*, *hrisenan*. Stars seem desirable where the OE form is not found in texts (or in very certain place-names). The *hrīsen* used under Risborough seems to require one—if it has other place-name evidence, this is not adduced. Merely by the way, and not because pp. 170-1 are selected for malicious attack, we may say that, though Professor Ekwall suggests that **hrīsen* is a regularly formed adjective, OE. itself preferred *hrīsig*, *hrīsiht*. Did *hrīsen* appear, we should normally expect the sense 'made of brushwood' rather than covered with it (cf. *æcen*, *æscen*, &c.). Is it possible that this *hrīsen* is a noun, 'brushwood-thicket'? We have no better support, however, for this suggestion than the OE. gloss *æcen* = *roborētum*. The earliest recorded form is *Hrisanbyrge*, not *Hrisenan*.

The Introduction last. This offers the cream skimmed skil-

fully off after the labour is done. There is much of great interest to be found between pages xi and xxi, and much that is suggestive—on the heathen Saxon settlement, the Taplow burial-ground, Celtic survivals, the Chilterns, the possible appearance of continental Germanic settlers (such as the Agilmod of Amersham, or Sandhere of Saunderton), and the peculiarities of the southern Danelaw.

To *Anglica* Mawer has contributed a short article in which stock is taken of the position now reached in the identification of the place-names of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*—very different from the position of the now antiquated editions. (The recent text edited from Cotton Tib. B iv by Classen and Harmer is up to date, having noticed in the glossary the conclusions even of Mawer's article.) He sadly confesses that recent results have been chiefly negative and destructive. But the clearing away of errors founded on mere guessing, and detrimental to both history and linguistic study, is a positive gain, even if the number of certain and scientific identifications that now or in the future may replace the ones ousted be small.

A list is given of forty-two *Chronicle* names with added notes of varying length, usually destructive, though not invariably so. The most interesting are *Yttingaford* (repeated at slightly greater length in the Bucks. volume under *Tiddingford Hill*), *Wodnesbeorg*, *Lygeanburg*, *Carrum*. Most interesting of all would have been the longest, the tentatively iconoclastic note on *Streoneshal*. The twelfth-century identification with Whitby is called in question since *Streoneshal* seems to be the form to which we must refer Strensall. That this odd name with its awkward first element should occur twice in the North Riding and nowhere else is held to be highly unlikely. Since, however, attention has later been drawn (by Professor E. V. Gordon) to the occurrence of the same name in Worcestershire, recorded in Bosworth-Toller supplement, this infidelity has been recanted. There is no need yet to push Cædmon's Cross off the cliff at Whitby.

To the same volume Professor Ekwall contributes *Englische Ortsnamenforschung*, an account of the progress of the study in the last ten years or so. Originally a lecture delivered in

October 1924, here revised and expanded, it is a rapid and useful sketch of all the more important contributions in this period.

The same authority contributes to *Mélanges* a note on the name *Etchells, Nechells*. Duignan's etymology from OFr. *echelle*, and explanation that it referred to a two-storied house with an internal or external stair or ladder (cf. *Loftus*), though picturesque, is dismissed. The objections urged are fairly conclusive: the French word does not appear ever to have been used in English at all, and nowhere does it bear the required sense. The etymology proposed is OE. **īecels*, **ēcels*, (an) addition. This would be yet one more word, unevidenced in texts, contributed by place-name studies to the Anglo-Saxon dictionary; but the case for it is, we think, strongly made out. It has an additional virtue of explaining the -s that is present in all forms and spellings without calling in an unnecessary plural. The proposer points out that we need, all the same, further inquiry to establish, if possible, the exact technical meaning of *ēcels*—whether it was comparable to ON. *aukland* or not.

A much larger article (pp. 179–201), filled with abundant detail and provided with an index, is contributed to the same volume by Professor R. E. Zachrisson. It deals with three groups of names whose problems are related: (1) *Diss, Dissington, Ditchingham, Dickleburgh, Ditchling*; (2) *Goxhill, Sixhill, Bexhill, Wrangle*; (3) *Ersham, [Yeverington], Jevington*. The title of the article is 'Some English Place-names in a French Garb'. The French alteration of the forms of names is illustrated in each section. It is not possible to summarize the contents of the contribution. In the first section the conclusion reached is that we have OE. *dīc*, dat. *dīce*, altered sometimes by French influence. Incidentally we are given an interesting discussion of the name of Ralph de Diceto; and ***Dica*, ***Dicel* as a name, pet or otherwise, is dismissed (unregretted). In the second section it is held that we have, probably, OE. *lēah* in disguise as a final element. This is not made out very satisfactorily, but the early forms of this group are very conflicting. No new explanation of the first element of *Sixhill* is offered, beyond the numeral *six* with obscure meaning. The last and longest section after an interesting discussion of the three names, that is directed

to show that all repose ultimately on the name *Gifric*, *Gefric* of an invading chieftain or very early settler, develops into a wider discussion of eponymy, patronymy, and geonymy, and the fabulous nature of the *Chronicle* history of the conquest of the South. Port of Portsmouth is again deleted from the land of heroes. What is said on *Cymenesōra* may be compared with Mawer's note on the same name in the *Anglica* article. Some interesting points are raised, worthy of far more space than can here be accorded to them.

In *R. E. S.* (Oct.) Mr. A. H. Smith presents evidence to show that the names *Shap*, *Shapinsay* (Orkneys), *Shawmrigg*, *Shetland*, *Shipton*, all owe their *sh*- to a development of initial *h*- before *j*, or before the *e* of native English diphthongs. The evidence of the forms (*Shap* and *Shipton* are the most pertinent) is that the *sh* stage was reached before the end of the thirteenth century, and Mr. Smith points to the bearings of this on the vexed question of *she*. The *ʒ(h)e*, *ʒ(h)o*-forms, admitted descendants of *heo*, give way to *sche*, *scho*-forms at about the same moment—always excepting the notorious Peterborough *scæ*. The lineal connexion of the *sch*-forms with the *ʒ(h)*-forms has been denied mainly through lack of evidence for such a sound-change in England. This evidence is now afforded—but scantily, as the writer points out; we need more cases.

Finally, the very long article (pp. 129–202) *Zu den Ortsnamen* by K. Bohnenberger in *Germanica* must be noted. It deals with a very large number of final elements in German words—*dorf*, *wīk* (*wīhs*), *weiler*, *heim*, *leibe* (cf. *lāf*, *Marlow*, above), *büttel*, *burg*, *stat*, *hütte*, *kote*, *gesüss*, *sal*, *stall*, *borstel*, *hagen*, and very many others. Many of these have the closest connexions with elements of English place-names and their problems.

In general philology there are several books to which we wish more detailed attention could be given than is possible. Especially is this the case with *Language*,⁹ the third book of this name. Its author we note (and heartily agree) signalizes Sapir's book (1921), of the same title, as one of first-rate impor-

⁹ *Language: a Linguistic Introduction to History*, by J. Vendryes; tr. by P. Radin (from *L'Évolution de l'Humanité*, i. 3); i. 4 of *The History of Civilisation*. Kegan Paul. pp. xxviii + 378. 16s.

tance—it is now regrettably out of print. This third *Language* may also be highly recommended. Much of it will be new, and most of it recognizably fresh in handling, to all who are unable to keep up with the whole of the ever-increasing mass of recent linguistic literature. They may note that M. Vendryes himself declares that ‘the past ten years or so have produced a variety of works on language-study whose equivalent in number and quality has never before been known’. His own book may be accounted one of the good things of the period. Though this would seem to be the direction in which the author is chiefly anxious, such defects as it possesses are not, we think, due to the fact that it is really a 1914 book, and earlier in time of writing than De Saussure’s *Cours de linguistique générale*, the other *Language* books, and many others. More strangely in a book that has had a revision and a translation, they consist rather in abundant inaccuracy of detail. This inaccuracy appears chiefly (but not exclusively) when English or other Germanic languages are touched upon. This cannot be due simply to the critic’s special knowledge; more probably it reflects an inexplicable weakness that has been observed before in French philologists—the compensation, perhaps, for their wide range, penetrating thought, and imaginative vision. All these lofty virtues may be sampled here, and if the whole book leaves on the reader an indefinable sense of hastiness, this haste is, perhaps, not that of the pen but of the mental journey. The pace must be a gallop, the country is so wide.

In the translated form, at any rate, to descend once more to detail, the misprints are alarmingly numerous and sometimes serious; the Greek words have especially suffered. Nor is it satisfactory in a book printed in England on a linguistic subject to find *p* used as the representative of both *p* and *β*. The discussion of *Lautverschiebung* (pp. 33–9) is rendered by this confusion quite unintelligible, except to those who already know its details. The occasional appearance of *ǣ* and *ǣ̆* do not make matters better! The difficulties of translation, sometimes doubtless considerable, have been met well enough, though there remain sufficient francisms to make the original language easily discoverable from internal evidence. *Désinence*, at any rate, should have been capable of translation. And it is a curious

fact that the translator cannot distinguish between *lie* and *lay*—we present the printer with such things as ‘*verble images*’.

The book is a whole, and those who read it will read all of it and discover the points of excellence for themselves. If selection is to be made we would point to the discussion of ‘law’ (p. 43); to most of Part II, especially ch. i on the grammatical categories and ch. iii on parts of speech; and to Part IV on dialects and specialized languages. There is also much of interest in Part V (Writing), especially on spelling and its reform. Much information on the French language, of great interest to those imperfectly acquainted with it and with present conditions in France, is to be found, especially in the chapter on Standard Languages. The Frenchman’s natural worship of French, though to an outsider it becomes in places too lyrical and even comic, is of course to be found, associated with glances at the ‘pomposities of some neighbouring languages’—but the chapter affords chiefly the interesting spectacle of this unscientific attitude struggling with a clear-eyed philological scepticism. The Conclusion, which includes excellent things on ‘Progress’, is final evidence that M. Vendryes is at his best in eloquent and vivid generalization. Therein he has the advantage of the (French) general editor of the series, who has prefixed to the book nearly seventeen pages of sheer wool.

A special interest is possessed by the last work of a great scholar, Karl Brugmann: the first instalment of the syntax¹⁰ at whose completion he laboured unceasingly until 1919 in the hope, in the event denied, of thus finishing the whole of the gigantic ‘Grundriss’ before his death. It is a part that was left practically complete, complete except for the careful revision and emendation of detail which Brugmann always made in the final stages. We may be grateful for its appearance after some years, edited by Dr. Porzig, with a prefatory note by Streitberg—whose death in the same year is one of the further unhappy losses suffered by philology.

The matter is dealt with under the headings: Simple (*eingliedrig*) Sentences; Subject and Predicate Groups within the Sentence; Congruence; The Formation of the Sentence according

¹⁰ *Die Syntax des einfachen Satzes im Indogermanischen*, von Karl Brugmann. Berlin u. Leipzig: De Gruyter. pp. viii + 229.

to the Underlying Psychological Function. The last, in reversing the usual process of examination, makes a concession to modern tendencies, but does not add much to the total value. The neglect of this 'inner' method is justly defended. The 'psychological function' in the case of old languages is only to be known from the outside.

The choice of examples, rigidly limited in number, is excellent. The instances from Gothic are especially well chosen. From the point of view of the English reader—but not solely, for English would have often provided examples both better and more widely appreciable than those offered—it is unfortunate, perhaps, that instances drawn from Middle or Modern English are entirely absent; even Old English hardly appears at all. Yet forms of very 'late Indo-European'—modern colloquial and dialect—are by no means excluded. Celtic, too, perhaps because of its individuality and not infrequent contravention of the principles laid down, is gingerly handled. So far as it is represented it is chiefly Irish. Welsh is neglected even where it would occasionally have offered pointed illustration.

The most important and interesting part is probably that dealing with 'nominal' sentences, and the genesis of the copula. This may be compared with the remarks of M. Vendryes (ii, ch. 3). More than enough cause is given for regret that Brugmann did not live to complete his work, but there is this consideration in mitigation: the complex sentence and periodic structure is post-Indo-European in detail if not in essence; it may offer many more intricacies for study, but it is in the preliminary analysis and in the theory of the simple sentence that the fundamental problems reside, and in this field the real battles of logicians, psychologists, and philologists will always take place. In this field we have Brugmann's contribution, and such account as he found it possible to give of the common phenomena of the Indo-European languages. Two objects are indeed seen to be blended a general view of the syntax of the simple sentence, and an estimate of what is common in this field to the languages studied, of what may be assumed to be original and inherited. If the last is rarely achieved with any certainty, it is not the author's fault. The failure is not without instruction. One may pause to consider why the results of comparative phonology, uncertain enough,

appear, when contrasted with the application of the comparative method to other linguistic features, so solid and reliable. It is of the nature of things that the skeleton lasts longest. Palaeontology rescues rather bones than flesh, it gives us little information concerning the cry of the taranosaurus; the history of language recovers for us many word-forms whose full richness of tones and of meaning escapes us—it can hardly hope to drag back much of the syntax and idiom of the lost past. It is inevitable that the *graue Vorzeit* (glimpsed in the first pages) should appear altogether hypothetical and shadowy.

Professor H. Güntert has produced a very readable book¹¹ of many excellences in his small, cheap, but remarkably compact, inclusive, and yet clear survey of language-study. The English reader, accustomed to the general or popular sketches in English, will find in it an additional, if accidental, freshness in that, being written for Germans, its examples are to him less trite and commonplace. The book was written in large part to awake a wider circle of educated people to the fundamental importance of linguistic study. This cry of a neglected science out of the wilderness of ignorance hardly accords with what popular (English) imagination expects to hear from Germany. But symptoms are perhaps to be observed, even beneath the wealth of writings, that *Sprachwissenschaft* is losing rather than gaining ground in that country.

Another readable and suggestive little book appears from the pen of Professor Jespersen.¹² Here English, to which this scholar has so keenly devoted himself, is by no means passed over. Those familiar with his writings will know already much that it contains, but there is much that is fresh and freshly put, and it will be welcomed by his admirers. From the back cover it appears that there is an English version, *Mankind, Nation and Individual from a Linguistic Point of View*, already in existence.

¹¹ *Grundfrage der Sprachwissenschaft*, von H. Güntert. No. 210 of the series *Wissenschaft und Bildung*. Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer. pp. 141. M 1. 60.

¹² *Menneskehed, Nasjon, og Individ i Sproget*, av O. Jespersen. A iv in the publications of *Instituttet for sammenlignende Kulturforskning*. Oslo: Aschehoug. pp. 208.

It is impossible to notice here works in the field of the other Germanic languages, even though doubtless to all those who read this chapter they are of immediate interest. Mention can, however, hardly be excluded of three at least. An Icelandic Grammar in English¹³ is in itself an event, we hope significant. Miss Buckhurst offers her book primarily to the beginners. These, knowing German or not, will in a measure be grateful—but they are often ungrateful creatures, for the woes of beginning, which in Icelandic are considerable, are apt to warp the gentlest natures. The publishers do not appear to have served her as well as she deserves in cover, paper, or type. Beginners will not like them. What appears to be a by-product of Professor Holthausen's preliminary labours towards his *schon lange geplante* Etymological Old-English Dictionary appears as an Old-Frisian dictionary.¹⁴ This will be of great value—moderated by the fact that it offers, according to its strictly limited plan, no references and hardly any variant forms. There are, however, a considerable number of references to notes and articles on individual words. Since the content of each of the 152 pages approaches an average of 50 or more individual entries, the wealth of the vocabulary recorded may be estimated. There is a brief tabulation of the relation of the Old Frisian sounds to West Germanic, and a very considerable bibliography.

The chief contribution to lexicography of the year, and one of the most considerable yet made in Germanic, is the new complete dictionary of the language of the *Heliand* and *Genesis*.¹⁵ This large volume, with its not only complete references but abundant quotations, it is impossible to review here: it may be welcomed as a boon to students of English second only to Grein-Köhler. The price, having regard to size, utility, and the clarity of its typography, is not high.

Of specially English lexicography the year under review is

¹³ *An Elementary Grammar of Old Icelandic*, by H. McM. Buckhurst. London: Methuen. pp. viii + 104. 5s.

¹⁴ *Altfrisisches Wörterbuch*, von Dr. F. Holthausen. Heidelberg: Winter. pp. xviii + 152. M 7. 50.

¹⁵ *Vollständiges Wörterbuch zum Heliand und zur Altsächsischen Genesis*, von E. H. Sehrt. Hesperia, Nr. 14. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. pp. viii + 741. M 21.

barren. But more of *W* is doubtless under active preparation at the Old Ashmolean for the delight and troubling of next year. None the less this seems the place to record a new edition of Roget's *Thesaurus*.¹⁶ It is hardly lexicography, of course. Rather the pre-eminent example of the spirit of philately in words—with a side-glance at the assistance of authors in search of the *mot juste* or *recherché*. Nor does this work, so long a household one, require notice here, beyond pointing out that this edition has been entirely re-set, and the opportunity has been taken for a more complete revision than in any past edition. Some hundreds of new words and phrases have been added.

This philatelic attitude to their language attacks most people from time to time. It has certainly attacked Mr. Pearsall Smith. The lists of idioms in chapter v of *Words and Idioms*¹⁷ (and those assorted under the title 'Somatic Idioms' in the appendix) have precisely the personal value and public lack of it possessed by a small stamp-collection. In the other parts a pleasant style makes very readable what is, it must be confessed, only a sentimental journey, or a series of different sentimental strolls, over the familiar paths in the English language. Nothing very new is gathered, for this requires the effort of making new tracks or of making old ones plainer. Of this effort chapter iii, 'Four Romantic Words', shows most sign. It has also some definite connexion with the preceding chapter, 'English Words Abroad'. None the less the so-called chapters would have been better presented as separate essays. There is no unified theme. We wonder what Mr. Pearsall Smith understands by a 'strict philologist'. Semantics, it appears, lie outside his beat. It would almost seem that philology is viewed as 'strictly' concerned only with a limited phonology. This is the more remarkable in that it is plain enough in chapter iii that it is difficult to discern wherein lexicographer and word-historian is ultimately to be distinguished from the student of literary

¹⁶ *Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases*, by P. M. Roget, enlarged by J. L. Roget, new edition revised and enlarged by S. R. Roget. Longmans. pp. xlvii + 691. 7s. 6d.

¹⁷ *Words and Idioms: Studies in the English Language*, by L. P. Smith. Constable. pp. xi + 300. 7s. 6d.

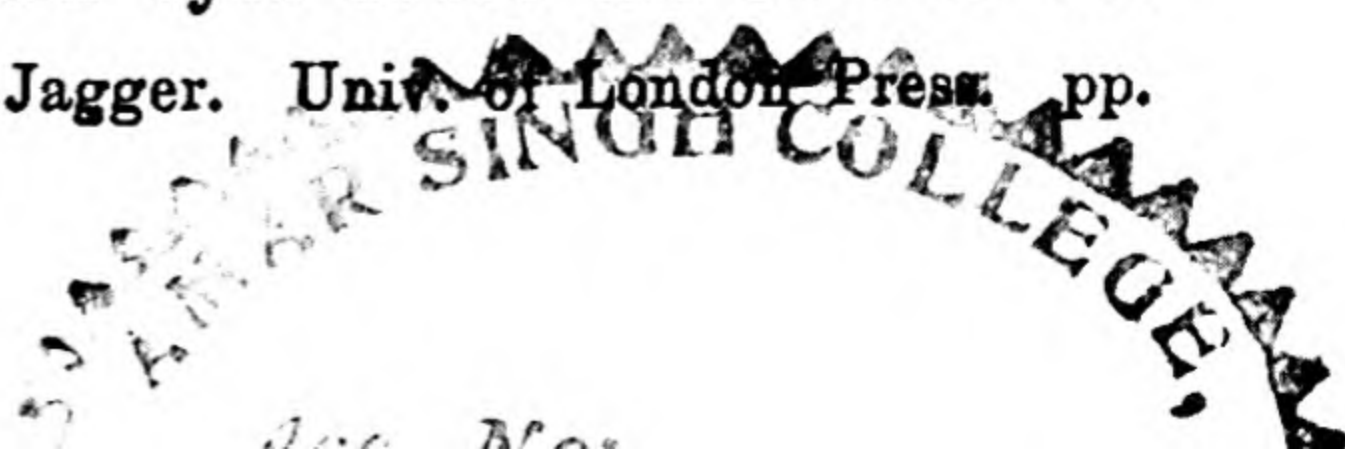
ideas. The boundary-line between linguistic and literary history is as imaginary as the equator—a certain heat is observable, perhaps, as either is approached—and ‘strict philology’ has no existence. Certainly this and that philologist has been known to specialize in a corner of the realm, but that is another matter.

The historian might jib at the statement that Alfred’s ships were built on the Danish model, in face of the king’s statement that they were precisely not so, and were different in shape, size, speed, draught, and seaworthiness. The ‘strict philologist’ would find much more to quarrel with—he would, for instance, want to know why, in drawing the distinction between common-stock sea-terms and purely northern ones, *flood* and *east* appear in the latter category—and many other things. This may appear to be pedantic in him, for the author disclaims the title of philologist; but a man who tells us the names of plants as we walk with him does not rid himself of all responsibility for misinforming us by saying he is no botanist.

Dr. Jagger’s book, *Modern English*,¹⁸ offers more for less money. Founded on lectures given in 1924 to L.C.C. teachers, his ten chapters certainly achieve their object: not that of describing the whole structure of English, but of sketching some of the features of it that are of most immediate interest. They do this well and vividly. There are many good passages and sound remarks—but there are far too many uncorrected misprints, and serious errors of detail for which the printer is not to blame. These appear most frequently where the facts of linguistic history or etymology are retailed. The employment of the phonetic notation (given on pp. 48–9) is also frequently defective.

In this book we have plain reference to a notion that it seems impossible any longer to pass over with a shrug—it was glimpsed even by Mr. Pearsall Smith—the notion of English as the coming world-language. Wherever it occurs we think it is time somebody said that as prophecy it is as valuable and certain as a weather-forecast, and as an ambition the most idiotic and suicidal that a language could entertain. Literature shrivels in a universal language, and an uprooted language rots before it dies. And it should be possible to lift the eyes above the cant of the

¹⁸ *Modern English*, by J. Hubert Jagger. Univ. of London Press. pp. 236. 5s.



'language of Shakespeare', or to tear them from visions of the Parliament of Man, sufficiently to realize the magnitude of the loss to humanity that the world-dominance of any one language now spoken would entail: no language has ever possessed but a small fraction of the varied excellences of human speech, and each language presents a different vision of life. In the past the dominance of a language has been due to the often sheerly accidental, and even undeserved, material success of its speakers, rather than to its own merits as a medium. This was certainly the case with Latin, and expansion was bad for it. Few prefer the *κοινή* to Attic. However imminent such a calamity to English may be imagined, it should be alluded to not with self-complaisance, but in alarm and as a summons to resistance. The curse of Babel is no less fundamental than that of Eden. Man's brow must sweat over the everlasting spade, and over the everlasting grammar too. Without their pain there shall be neither food nor poetry. If we say nothing about 'American English' here, it is only reserved for the end.

Those who wish to see (amongst many other things) how our *Weltsprache* utterances are regarded in Germany may look at the astonishingly close study of contemporary conditions in England by Professor Spies.¹⁹ No newspaper, no article hardly, seems to have escaped these patient eyes; *Strafe* is carefully scrutinized; so are the Boy Scouts—nothing except the joke seems missed; it is very solemn.

In *Our Living Language*²⁰ Messrs. Grattan and Gurrey present a 'new guide to English grammar'. Primarily intended as a school book (for boys and girls between fourteen and sixteen), the authors hope it may offer in parts interest and even entertainment for adults; and it certainly does. We have their word for it that many even of their more difficult problems were readily solved by intelligent children even younger than fourteen, but we think all the same that much of this book will be found difficult—at any rate in its technical language. In addition to occasional, if inevitable, difficulty in this direction there are more

¹⁹ *Kultur und Sprache im neuen England*, von H. Spies. Leipzig: Teubner. pp. xv + 216.

²⁰ *Our Living Language: a new guide to English grammar*, by J. H. G. Grattan and P. Gurrey. Nelson. pp. 323. 3s. 6d.

than a few traces of tiresome funniness. 'By this time, we trust, you realize that your idea of a sentence is rather a hazy one. We beg to offer you our congratulations.' Our memories may be distorted, but we seem to recall that this sort of thing did not endear our teachers to us. We acquiesce more patiently as we proceed—undeniably the subject is generally made as interesting as possible. And the jests are often good. The whole choice of examples, from all over English literature and straight from authentic daily idiom, is excellent. The pencils of the uncle of the gardener seem as remote as eoliths.

Whatever criticism, detailed or more general, one might feel disposed to make—there is not a little—it can be said that the linguistic attitude inculcated throughout is precisely what is needed, whether the reader be a budding writer, a sprouting philologist, or a sane and ordinary boy.

A subject which we do not teach to the young, though far more would enjoy and profit by it than many teachers think, is represented in Professor Moore's *Historical Outlines of English Phonology and Morphology*²¹—a book that would be in many ways a very handy companion to any course on the linguistic history of English. Based on the former book (1919) of similar title, it is now revised, partly rewritten, and enlarged. Its six parts: Modern English Sounds; The History of English Sounds; Historical Development of ME. Inflections; ME. Dialects; The Language of Chaucer; Historical Development of Modern E. Inflections, are all useful sketches. Detailed criticism is here out of the question. We can report it, however, as a useful text-book. The author says, 'Of all the languages taught in our universities, Middle English furnishes the best material for the study of language in the making, for the direct observation of linguistic change; yet the pedagogical difficulties involved in emphasizing adequately this aspect . . . are such that our courses in ME. have tended to become mere translation courses'. Many who have felt this will find this book of use—if they can get students to use it. This will be more possible in America than in England, for the description of modern English sounds and the transcriptions are

²¹ *Historical Outlines of English Phonology and Morphology* (ME. and Modern E.), by S. Moore. Ann Arbor: Wahr. pp. viii + 153. \$1.90.

quite useless for 'British' students. It is impossible to teach them American (though it might be good for them) as a preliminary to Old and Middle English. If Mr. Moore's account is faithful and his handling of his phonetic notation successful (we think there are signs that this is not always the case), we are forced to the conclusion that there are some kinds of (approved) American pronunciation which are never exported.

Two detailed studies (or must we use the word 'research'?) require mention here: *On the Origin of the Gerund*,²² and on *Das Bahuvrīhi-Compositum* in English.²³ The first is on the whole the more valuable. The author has nearly drowned himself in facts, and each time he has turned aside from his main theme, which is not seldom, has come near the same fate beneath further facts. He has ten close pages of bibliography, and the rest is in keeping. Much of his collections of inflexional and phonological evidence, marshalled (or poured out) under the headings *verbal noun*, *present participle*, *infinitive*, will doubtless be found useful even by those who feel that the gerund is getting a bit more than it deserves. The discussion, for instance—with rich (and indigestible) data—of *ung*, *ing*, with back *g*, front *g*, and reduced, may be of interest to place-namers. But it is not quite clear what the gerund gets out of it all. The title suggests that more is to come. An inevitable weakness of surveys of this kind, that garner forms from hundreds of different texts, is that many of these texts do not yield true evidence except after a prolonged individual study, which the surveyor cannot give. For all his industry, Dr. Langenhove seems to have missed the point, for instance, of the gerundial and participial forms in *Ancoren Rivle* and the *Katharine-group*.

In Dr. Last's study of *Bahuvrīhi-composita*, or *composita possessiva*, or still better (to modify a suggestion of the author's for German) 'Blue-beard' compounds, it cannot be denied that

²² *On the Origin of the Gerund in English (Phonology)*, by G. C. van Langenhove. Univ. de Gand: Recueil de travaux pub. par la fac. de Philosophie et Lettres; 56^e fasc. Gand: van Rysselberghe & Rombaut. pp. xxviii + 132.

²³ *Das Bahuvrīhi-Compositum im Alteng., Mitteleng., und Neuenglischen*, von Dr. phil. W. Last, mit einem Geleitwort von Prof. Dr. H. Spies. Greifswald: Adler. pp. 125. M 3.00.

linguistic philately again plays a large part, the *furor* of the collector. The immense assemblage is, however, ordered under a very definite scheme and with purpose; its very magnitude commands respect. The *Wortverzeichnisse* occupy pp. 85-125, and contain about 100 entries a page. There is, beside English, a large amount of material incidentally included (and indexed) from other Germanic languages and elsewhere. The industry of the compiler seems hardly to have missed anything, from OE. to 1925, not even John Buchan's title *Greenmantle*. This, picked up from a *Daily Telegraph* review (we suspect the lynx-eye of Professor Spies), and not we think itself read, is entered as *islam. Kriegsgesch.* It is certainly no less unfortunate for reader than for author that the unhappy conditions of scholars in post-war Germany—*die Fortsetzung des Krieges gegen Deutschland und das Deutschtum mit anderen Mitteln* says the *Geleitwort*—should have necessitated the crushing of the work into 124 pages, in minute type, close packed, and with every other word truncated. It should have occupied 400. 'gehören z. d. anziehndsten Arten d. Zssg., obgleich od. weil sie ggü. der gr. Masse aller Wortvbdgn' is not easy going for the eye. Dr. Last has our sympathies, and we have his.

One of the largest books on English, Dr. Kruisinga's *Handbook*,²⁴ has reached a fourth edition. Part I (English Sounds) has been revised; the three volumes of Part II (English Accidence and Syntax) though altered and revised here and there, present substantially a reprint of the 1922 edition.

The book of course is primarily of use to the foreign (especially Dutch) student of English, though native speakers of English have found and will find much that is interesting in it, especially in the first Part. A painstaking and commendably accurate study of a language from the outside has a certain special value. The book has often been reviewed, and in any case there is not opportunity for adequate examination in these pages. All the minor inaccuracies have not yet been got rid of (e.g. p. 157 *convenant* for *covenant*, if an instance must be given).

²⁴ *A Handbook of Present-day English*, by E. Kruisinga. Part I, English Sounds. pp. xi+312. Part II (3 vols.), English Accidence and Syntax. pp. xii+357; xii+311; xii+360. Fourth edition. Utrecht: Kemink en Zoon.

If we have left Professor Krapp's book ²⁵ to the end, it is a place of honour. This weighty work offers more than 700 large pages of information concerning the history and present position of English in the United States, and is full of what is new or little known and recognized on either side of the Atlantic—especially on this. On this side we have now a far more authoritative work than ever before to refer to, the result of many years of patient study and collection by a careful scholar free from all violent prejudices, one who is able to hold a fair balance, with no more bias than is due to the reasoned preferences of a patriotism none will quarrel with. It is, perhaps, true that the movement is slow, at times even heavy, and not without repetition. It holds the attention somewhat uncertainly, in spite of the extreme interest of its theme for all speakers or students of English. But it is no light task to be the general over so huge an army of facts. The headings under which the matter is grouped give some idea of the wealth contained, but they do not in themselves indicate all the varied information and curious detail that is actually worked into these very long chapters: The Mother Tongue, Vocabulary, Proper Names, Literary Dialects (e.g. rustic, Negro, Indian), Style, American Spelling, American Dictionaries—Pronunciation, Unstressed syllables, Inflections and Syntax, Bibliography (very extensive), Indexes.

The occasional glimpses into the history and formation of American place-names, which often appear to repeat at large and in times so much nearer to us the conditions which we earnestly study here in little; the remarkable interest of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century town-records, whether from the point of view of their spellings, their vocabulary, or the social conditions they recall—these may be mentioned among the points that have an especial attraction. It is impossible when reading this book for the imagination not to be seized by a sudden apprehension of the vast and intricate history into which these chapters have adventured: the supreme philological event of which we have certain knowledge, the transplantation of the language of a small country and its spread and ramification over enormous regions to find not one but a thousand new soils, atmospheres, and homes.

²⁵ *The English Language in America*, by G. P. Krapp. New York: Century Co. London: O.U.P. Two vols. pp. xiii + 377 and 355. 42s.

Not that the book attempts any steady and progressive unfolding of this history like a panorama. This is probably impossible. But of the conflicting tendencies towards linguistic uniformity and towards disintegration in this vast area, of the relations of language and politics, an account has been attempted, not without success.

If on the subject, not unimportant, of the relations of the American and 'British' varieties of English in the most recent period Professor Krapp seems disappointing, it is from the very judicial and non-committal spirit of his utterances and implications, not from his partisanship. But in order to avoid crude prejudice it is not necessary to minimize real differences. If in careful and studied writing, of which this book is an excellent example, the differences are not very obvious, it is still possible to see in its very coldness and formality the dangers of an artificial uniformity veiling fundamental divergence.

To some it seems obvious that petrification and death ultimately await it, if the attempt is made too long to maintain a language as a literary or cultured medium over areas too wide and of too divergent a history to preserve any permanent community. Whether we endeavour to maintain the different varieties of English in vigorous life now, or in the future seek to restore life after 'English' has become a universalized but dead book-latin, divergence into distinct idioms is ultimately the only thing that will achieve the object.

To the American author, of course, it does not appear so clear as it does to us that the problem is no longer that of the freedom of America and her 'illustrious vernacular', but of the freedom of England. Sir Walter Raleigh in a speech on 'Some Gains of the War' made in February 1918 did not escape the notice of Dr. Spies when he said: 'the clearest gain of all is that after the War the English language will have such a position as never before. The greatest gain of all, the entry into the War of America, assures the triumph of our common language and our common ideals.' We have indicated above what we feel about linguistic triumph. Some even now are found to criticize the expression 'common language'; more might question 'common ideals' (and without necessarily implying any judgement concerning relative values); but to all it should be apparent

that this triumph, if it takes place, is only likely to be 'common' if it is predominantly or wholly American. Whatever be the special destiny and peculiar future splendour of the language of the United States, it is still possible to hope that our fate may be kept distinct. And it is possible in *The English Language in America* to find reasons for making that hope more earnest.

III

OLD ENGLISH STUDIES

[By E. V. GORDON]

MORE books and articles on Old English subjects were published in 1925 than in any other year for some time past, and among them are some contributions of considerable interest and value. This is a hopeful sign; of late years Old English has not received from scholars the attention and detailed care which was given in pre-war days. Yet, though the publications of 1925 indicate some revival of interest, it is clear that readers are no longer expected to have the thorough and technical knowledge of the language which was formerly assumed by writers on Old English literature and grammar. Now it is the fashion to make Old English easy for the untrained reader; translations are provided in editions instead of apparatus for textual and linguistic study. Both editors and publishers seem fearful of technicalities, and as long as they remain so, Old English studies are not likely to advance. It is not to be denied, of course, that books which treat Old English subjects for the untrained reader serve a useful purpose. Through their educative effect a public for new and more scholarly work may again be organized.

Perhaps the most hopeful sign in the work of the year is the publication of a new edition of the Wrights' *Old English Grammar*,¹ which has long been familiar to students of Old English. Not many Old English grammars published in England are likely to run to three editions. In the new edition the authors have added some of the new features of their *Elementary Old English Grammar* (1923), the most useful of which is probably the table showing the development of Indo-European and Germanic vowels in final syllables; in this a very large amount of information is packed in the clearest and most accessible form possible. A con-

¹ *Old English Grammar*, by Joseph Wright and Elizabeth Mary Wright. Third edition. O.U.P. 9s.

siderable amount of revision and correction has been made, some sections being entirely rewritten. The virtues of clearness and comprehensiveness in this work are already so well known from the previous editions that there is no need to emphasize them here. In some details, however, there is still need for revision. For example, the statement still appears that the voicing of open voiceless consonants which is known as Verner's Law took place 'after the completion of the first sound-shifting', i. e. later than the operation of Grimm's Law. The more conventional view that the voicing of consonants in accordance with Verner's Law was accomplished before the final change of Grimm's Law seems preferable. The reduced grade of short *e* (i. e. *b* or *e*) in Indo-European, also, is of importance in its Germanic developments, and ought to be recognized in a grammar which purports to trace Old English sounds to their ultimate origins. The comparative of *sceort* 'short' is still wrongly given as *sciertra*; though the actual form *scyrtra* is also that which accords with the authors' note to § 51. But these are merely matters of oversight and not of great importance. The new edition of the grammar is to be highly recommended to all comparative students of Old English.

In literary criticism there are two works which come under notice in this chapter. This is unusual, for the critics of late years have not shown much interest in the earliest period of our literature. The more valuable of these two is an essay (of 53 pages) by Professor Wyld on *Diction and Imagery in Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, published in the *Essays and Studies* by members of the English Association, vol. XI. One of the chief objects of this essay is to illustrate the racial tendencies of English literary art which appear in Old English and survive in modern literature, and to show that, although formally there is very little continuity of Old English traditions beyond the Middle Ages, the artistic feeling of our oldest literature and its instinctive forms of expression recur in later English. The Anglo-Saxons kept words and phrases in poetic use which were different from the terms of every day speech, just as modern English poets do (and for that matter almost all poets of any language). Such words as *hæleþ*, *beorn*, *freca* used in poetry for 'man' are paralleled by later *swain*; *blanca* 'horse' by later *courser*, *steed*; and so on. The specially

poetic vocabulary of Old English times was, however, much richer than that of any later period. It is now difficult to distinguish the shades of meaning expressed in the numerous poetic synonyms of Old English; etymology is usually the best guide, but it is an uncertain one. Professor Wyld illustrates the use of etymology, and by comparative investigation of cognates reclaims the original meaning of *holm*, often applied in poetry to the sea. In its original application to the sea the word meant 'wave-crest', and traces of this use still appear in some poems.

The kennings of Anglo-Saxon poetry are compared by Professor Wyld with the periphrastic metaphors of eighteenth-century poets. Logically such an expression as *sealtyða gelac* 'surging of the salt waves' for 'sea' is the same in principle as the later 'watery plains'. In artistic effect, however, there is a vast difference between them; and Professor Wyld's estimate of the poetic value of the Old English metaphors is worth attention. The metaphors and epithets applied to the sea, he observes, after illustrating them, 'show that the poets had really felt and seen its aspects; they do not merely repeat, parrot-like, conventional commonplaces, but record a genuine emotion in words that evoke it in the reader'. Poetry in Old English times was even more conventional than now, but its conventions had more life.

There is a wealth of illustrative examples in the essay, and they are on the whole skilfully translated. *Phoenix* 33-9 he renders thus:

Serene the plain, its sunny woodland gleams;
Fair wood whose foison ne'er declines, whose flowers
Eternal glow, on boughs for ever green.
So God ordained; and whatsoe'er the time,
Winter or summer, still the grove shall stand
All hung with fruit, and 'neath a placid sky
No leaf decays, no petal flutters down.

The reader will readily agree that the atmosphere of the original is here produced very happily. The arrangement of the matter at times seems too severely categorical, and the relation of the categories is not always made clear; but the matter itself is of great interest, and the treatment is original and fresh. Professor Wyld's essay is an admirable example of the use of philological knowledge as an instrument of interpretation. His remarks on

interpretation of Old English poetry are indeed of much more value than his comparison with the phrases and conventions of later poetry. It is difficult to find much in eighteenth-century poetry which shows real identity of poetic feeling with Old English verse. The style of the *Phoenix* has a distant resemblance to Thomson's *Castle of Indolence*, but there are poems of the same atmosphere in other languages too. The ideal landscape is not an exclusively Anglo-Saxon property.

M. Émile Pons's book ² on the feeling for nature exhibited in Old English poetry is criticism of another and more familiar kind, an analysis, in general terms, of poets' sentiment. This kind of criticism usually has regard only for general aspects, often without caring to ascertain the full significance of the detail on which the generalities are based. M. Pons has studied his poems with some care, it is true, and he has a good understanding of the general sense. His plentiful illustrative quotations are in translation, and there we are able to see what he has made of the interpretation of the detail. There are not many absolute mistakes, but, what is just as serious, there is nearly complete loss of atmosphere in a large number of passages. This is no doubt due in part to the completely different character of the French language. Old English is difficult enough to render adequately in modern English, but in French everything has a different ring. 'Le destin' is not quite the same thing as *wyrd*, yet what other word could M. Pons have used? The *hwæles eþel* looks comic in literal French: 'la patrie de la baleine'; and *fugla geli-cost* as 'très semblable à un oiseau' becomes heavy and prosaic. Occasionally mechanical word-for-word translation produces strange coinages, as in the line 'Ainsi le Milieu du Monde chaque jour tombe et s'écroule' (*Wanderer*, 62-3); 'le Milieu du Monde' requires reference to the original to be intelligible, but all becomes clear when it is known that the original has *middangeard*.

The fashion of distinguishing heathen and Christian elements in Old English poetry now seems to be well established. M. Pons can distinguish them even in the 'sentiment de la nature'. After comparing the heathen elements of *Völuspá* and other Edda

² *Le Thème et le Sentiment de la Nature dans la Poésie Anglo-Saxonne*, by Émile Pons. Strasbourg and Paris: O.U.P. 160 pp. 12 fr. or 4s. net.

poems with the sentiments of Old English poetry, he concludes that the Old English feeling for nature was mainly Christian. The characteristics which he finds that the Old English view of nature has acquired since the heathen times represented in *Völuspá* are these: firstly, Old English nature-poetry is rational, drawing a practical moral from even the most mysterious and solemn aspects of nature; secondly, it is essentially realistic, unlike the Edda poems—‘les poètes de l’Edda semblaient fuir dans leur imagination les spectacles qui s’offraient à leurs yeux, ou qu’ils les déformaient, les transfiguraient en y touchant; le poète anglo-saxon est avant tout fidèle à ses sens’; thirdly, Old English nature-poetry is filled with a profound consciousness of the tragedy of death. Only the last of these three characteristics seems really to exist in Old English nature-poetry, which is romantic and impressionistic rather than realistic; and it is not notably rational. It is strange also that the feeling of tragedy in death is put down to Christian influence. In general, M. Pons seems inclined to exaggerate the religious element in the nature-poems, such as the *Wanderer*, though his estimate of this poem is more finely reckoned than his judgement of the Edda poems. It is astonishing that any one could read the Edda and leave it with the impression that its authors shrank from facing facts.

The Christian elements, he proceeds, did not entirely suppress heathen tradition, of which there are broken survivals in *The Husband’s Message*, *The Wife’s Complaint*, in the love of battle and action exhibited in most Old English poems, in the magic of the charms, and in certain words and phrases of heathen origin, such as *wyrd*, *enta geweorc*, &c. It may be doubted whether the ‘passion de l’amour’ in the romantic *Wife’s Complaint* is fierce enough to be definitely heathen, but M. Pons thinks it comparable to the passion of Brynhild. He sees heathen tradition also in the tendency to look upon natural objects as animate, a survival of the mythic view of nature. How much of the personification in Old English is of mythic origin is difficult to determine; but it is clear that M. Pons assumes too much when he describes the storm in riddle IV as a giant, because it speaks in the first person, describing its deeds. In a riddle even a churn or an onion is allowed to tell about its actions; the onion, for example, says that if any one bites it, it will bite in return—a heathen sentiment

not noticed by M. Pons. The final part of the book is descriptive, reviewing, with abundant and well-chosen quotations, the various natural objects described in Old English poetry. Probably the best descriptions in Old English poetry are of the sea, and these move M. Pons to great enthusiasm. After quoting some fine passages, he exclaims: 'La mer est donc plus qu'une matière à description, plus qu'une image, elle est, à proprement parler, plus encore qu'un thème, qu'un motif: elle est une modalité de l'inspiration anglo-saxonne, elle en est la forme essentielle, la manifestation la plus profonde.' Here one recognizes the characteristic dialect of the critic of nature-poetry, to whom no natural objects seem to be concrete things; they are all *motifs*, or forms of inspiration. M. Pons uses the dialect more fluently than most, as may be inferred from the number of *kennings* for 'sea' which he has lavished upon this single sentence.

Another verse translation of *Beowulf*³ has appeared, and it is the best that has yet been published—though that is not necessarily high praise. Sir Archibald Strong's version follows the original more closely than any other translation in verse, and it is more vigorous and fluent in rhythm. But the advance on previous verse translations might have been even greater if the translator had struck out a form and style for himself, instead of adopting both from William Morris, in whose peculiar dialect there is already a version of *Beowulf*. His verse-form is the long, rolling couplet which Morris favoured, a good metre which is on the whole well used. The style and diction are not so strange as in Morris's own translation of *Beowulf*, but there is the same flavour of pseudo-archaism, and many of Morris's oddities are repeated. Sir Archibald Strong agrees with Morris in preferring 'garth' to 'court', 'bairn' to 'son', 'drake' or 'worm' to 'dragon', in order to be nearer the Old English forms *geard*, *bearn*, *draca*, and *wyrm*, though the sense of the Old English words would be more accurately rendered by the natural words of present-day use. The dragon especially was very far from being a worm. Characteristic modern misuse of the old

³ *Beowulf*, translated into modern English rhyming verse, with introduction and notes, by Archibald Strong, with a Foreword on *Beowulf and the Heroic Age*, by R. W. Chambers. Constable. pp. lxii + 100. 12s. net.

terms is found when Hroðgar is represented as 'chanting a saga' (for *gydd awræc*, 2108); and the Frisians 'birl at the beer' in the *Lay of Finn*. Such archaisms and pseudo-archaisms no doubt give atmosphere, but not of the right kind. They give an impression of antiquarian sentimentality rather than of the imaginative realization of the life of the poem which one hopes to find in a translation. Yet, in spite of the conventional poetic diction there are many passages of strong and vigorous interpretation, as in the description of the whetting of Ingeld to vengeance; and parts of the difficult *Lay of Finn* are admirably rendered. The lines telling of Hengest's stay in Friesland during the winter and the coming of spring will serve as a fair example of the style of the translation:

But ever with Finn dwelt Hengest through that winter of
blood and woe

Keeping the pact unsullied. Home again he longed to go,
But never his curven prow-head might he urge across the
wave,

For the sea rose up 'neath the tempest and against the
storm-wind drave,

And the waters were locked in fetters of ice, till came
The new year round to the homesteads, as e'en now she
cometh the same,

That season of beauty and wonder, to them that await her
hour,

And fair was earth's bosom waxen, and sped was winter's
power.

The translation is preceded by a foreword on 'Beowulf and the Heroic Age' by Professor Chambers. In this essay is described the fusion, or partial fusion, of the Christian and Latin culture, brought to England by the Church, with the traditional Germanic culture; and there is a brief but informing sketch of the civilization that arose in Northumbria from this blending. The object of the sketch is to supply the historical background necessary for consideration of the origin of *Beowulf*, which is briefly but adequately discussed. Professor Chambers concludes that the Christian element in *Beowulf*, in the midst of so much that was heathen, was not due to a monkish rehandling of the poem; the mixture was typical of the age in which *Beowulf* was composed. He also gives cautious approval to the suggestion of W. P. Ker that 'the larger kind of heroic poem was attained in

England through the example of Latin narrative', though he does not claim more than the possibility of this. The foreword is a brilliant piece of historical exposition, written in a lively and forcible style, the best general introduction that a translation of Beowulf could have.

Miss A. J. Robertson's edition of the later Old English laws⁴ is a companion and complement to Mr. Attenborough's *Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (Cambridge, 1923). The two books together contain the text of all the important codes of Old English laws, as well as some other legal documents of interest. They do not cover the ground as completely as Liebermann in his great edition *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, but the texts which they have omitted entirely are of no importance. Miss Robertson's edition is on the same plan as Attenborough's, giving text and translation parallel, with brief introductions to the codes, and notes and index. Any edition of Old English laws now published must necessarily be largely dependent on the work of Liebermann, who edited all the texts with unusual accuracy; and Miss Robertson makes due acknowledgement of her indebtedness to his book. She has collated most of her texts with the manuscripts, but apparently without much result; the one new reading in which she differs from Liebermann is of doubtful value. The collation, moreover, did not reveal all the errors of Liebermann's text, which seems to have been adopted by Miss Robertson, with a few minor alterations, just as it was printed. She has even adopted some of the misprints which Liebermann afterwards corrected. Thus *adfullum* on page 124, line 2, reproduces Liebermann's misprint for *aðfullum*; similarly, the form *scirebiscop* on page 92, line 1, is based on a misprint which Liebermann later corrected to *scirebiscope* (the MS. contraction having been wrongly expanded). These inaccuracies are of no textual importance, but they are significant as indications of editorial method.

As the text is practically that of Liebermann, the value of the edition lies in the translation and notes. On the whole the translation is good, especially in view of the difficulty of the

⁴ *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I*, edited and translated by A. J. Robertson. C.U.P. pp. xiv + 426. 25s.

original. The language of the Old English laws is often vague and ambiguous, the word-order often unnatural; and Miss Robertson has evidently taken trouble to make her translation definite and clear. Her edition should be a great convenience to those who are curious about the Old English laws, but find Liebermann difficult or inaccessible. The notes, too, though full of useful information, are largely derived from Liebermann, who is indeed cited as the source in about half of them. It may be observed that there are still many points of interest in the laws which none of the editors have tried to explain. For example, a law of Edgar states that 'A cow's bell, a dog's collar, and a horn for blowing, each of these three shall be worth a shilling, and each is reckoned as an informer'. In the laws of Ina, an axe is said to be 'an informer and not a thief'. Fire was reckoned a thief, and the man who destroyed trees by fire had to pay more than a man who destroyed an equal number with an axe. What was the origin and significance of this legal fiction? Why should a dog's collar be legally an informer? And there are many more such difficulties which have not been solved. Liebermann has not left many textual or lexicographical problems for future editors, but there are still plenty of historical and legal obscurities for them to clear up.

An article by Mr. K. Sisam on *The Authenticity of certain Texts in Lambard's 'Archaionomia', 1568* (*M. L. R.*, July) was mentioned in *The Year's Work* for 1924 in connexion with Liebermann's defence of the authenticity of Lambard's texts, published in that year. Mr. Sisam gives his reasons in detail for regarding the Old English laws known as *I Athelstan* and *Athelstan's Charitable Ordinance* as sixteenth-century translations (possibly by the Anglo-Saxon scholar Lawrence Nowell) made from the Latin version known as *Quadripartitus*. Mr. Sisam's argument is summarized in vol. v, p. 75, and all that need be repeated here is that he seems to have proved his case.

Dr. W. W. Greg, in his article *The Five Types in Anglo-Saxon Verse* (*M. L. R.*, Jan.), criticizes the analysis of Sievers and offers a new statement of the rhythmic principles of Anglo-Saxon verse. With his objection to Sievers's system, that it is in some respects

‘arbitrary and artificial’, most readers will agree. Sievers’s distinction between types A and E, for example, is difficult to fathom, and appears to be arbitrary. Is not a line like *drihtsele dreorfah* $\acute{\text{u}} \times \acute{\text{u}} \grave{\text{u}}$ as nearly related to E $\acute{\text{u}} \acute{\text{u}} \times \acute{\text{u}}$ as to A $\acute{\text{u}} \times \acute{\text{u}} \times$? It would be more consistent to class all such five-element lines as varieties of D and E. As Dr. Greg points out, Sievers himself changed his mind about this type, first regarding it as E and later as A.

In his new metrical scheme Dr. Greg takes the A-type with anacrusis $\times \acute{\text{u}} \times \acute{\text{u}} \times$ as a separate type, in which he seems well advised. From a purely metrical point of view, Sievers’s classification under A again appears arbitrary; according to the principles of his scheme it could as easily be a B-type with an extra syllable added at the end. Apart from this type, Dr. Greg sees five basic types of half-line in Old English verse, the first three identical with Sievers’s A, B, and C:

- (a) $\acute{\text{u}} \times \acute{\text{u}} \times$
- (b) $\times \acute{\text{u}} \times \acute{\text{u}}$
- (c) $\times \acute{\text{u}} \acute{\text{u}} \times$
- (d) $[\acute{\text{u}} \acute{\text{u}} \times]$
- (e) $[\acute{\text{u}} \times \acute{\text{u}}]$

The thesis or ‘sinking’, according to his rules, may be simple, that is, consisting only of weakly accented syllables; or simple weighted, consisting of a syllable bearing a secondary accent; or complex weighted, consisting of a secondary accent and a weak accent, $\times \acute{\text{u}}$ or $\acute{\text{u}} \times$ or (theoretically) $\times \acute{\text{u}} \times$. If it is granted that a thesis is of this variable nature, and that the types *d* and *e* shall only occur with weighted thesis, all the Old English verse-forms can be brought under the five types. Any two-stress line could be brought under the types, indeed, so that Dr. Greg’s system need not be limited to Anglo-Saxon verse. With this elasticity of the thesis, most of Ælfric’s rhythmical prose, for example, becomes good verse. He claims for his arrangement of metrical types that it ‘proceeds logically from a consideration of the abstract possibilities’. But the possibilities depend on the basic conception of the verse, which can only be derived from an examination of the facts. Dr. Greg states as the basic principle of the Old English half-line that it ‘consists

of two strongly stressed syllables, combined with a varying number of lighter syllables'. There is still another principle, however: no Old English half-line contains less than four syllables. For this reason alone Dr. Greg's *d* and *e* are not abstract possibilities, unless abstracted even from the basic principles of Old English verse, in which case it would be necessary to recognize types with one stress or no stresses as possibilities. The form of *a*, *b*, and *c* and the minimum number of syllables suggest rather the following types as the remaining abstract possibilities:

$$\begin{array}{cccc} \acute{\quad} & \acute{\quad} & \times & \times \\ \acute{\quad} & \times & \times & \acute{\quad} \\ \times & \times & \acute{\quad} & \acute{\quad} \end{array}$$

In practice, however, successive weak syllables form only a single arsis. In order to distinguish between successive arses, they had to be given a different accent, i. e. one is made into a secondary accent. Hence the two types, Sievers's D and E:

$$\begin{array}{cccccc} \acute{\quad} & \acute{\quad} & \grave{\quad} & \times & or & \acute{\quad} & \acute{\quad} & \times & \grave{\quad} \\ \acute{\quad} & \grave{\quad} & \times & \acute{\quad} & or & \acute{\quad} & \times & \grave{\quad} & \acute{\quad} \end{array}$$

The other possible type does not occur, namely:

$$\grave{\quad} \times \acute{\quad} \acute{\quad} or \times \grave{\quad} \acute{\quad} \acute{\quad}$$

To the present writer Sievers's five types seem to be more truly based on abstract possibilities, and represent the real principles of Old English verse more accurately than those of Dr. Greg; but it is agreed that Sievers's classification of the varieties under his basic types is sometimes arbitrary.

Professor Kemp Malone (*M. L. R.* Jan.) offers an explanation of King Alfred's use of the term *Geatas* in rendering Bede's *Iuti* 'Jutes'. Such is Alfred's rendering in the passage in Bede (I. 15) where the inhabitants of Jutland are named, but later (IV. 16) when Bede speaks of the Jutes of Hampshire Alfred calls their district *Eota land*. Professor Malone thinks that Alfred deliberately distinguished the men of Jutland from the Hampshire Jutes. His explanation of Alfred's distinction is an hypothesis: there may have been a migration of Geatas from South Sweden to Jutland. From general considerations, such a migration seems not unlikely, but no definite evidence of it is adduced; moreover, it would still remain to be proved, even if there were

Geatish settlers in Jutland, that the name of Geatland was ever applied to it by any one else than Alfred. In the Orosius Alfred calls Jutland *Gotland*, which Professor Malone takes to be an English spelling of ON. *Gautland* 'land of the Geats'; but Alfred is here giving the words of Ohthere, who would naturally use the form *Jóttland* for Jutland, and it is likely that Alfred's *Gotland* is the English spelling of this form. The current notion that Alfred confused the names of Jutland and Geatland still seems the most likely explanation. Even Norsemen like Snorri confused *Gautland* and *Gotland*, so that Alfred may well have confused *Gōtland* (with front open *g*) with *Gēatland*. The Jutes of Hampshire he could be certain were *Eote*, because here he had a familiar local tradition to deal with. In referring to Jutland he may have been puzzled by the different terminology of his scholars and his Scandinavian informants.

Mr. A. C. Dunstan in a note on *Beowulf*, line 223 (*M. L. R.*, July), points out that the manuscript reading *þa wæs sund liden* makes good sense and should not be emended as in most editions. Such editors as retain *sund liden* recognize a difficulty in the passive use of *liðan* here. Mr. Dunstan quotes an OHG. past participle *galitan* in the sense 'past, finished'. It may be added that this use was common in Old Norse too. Further notes on *Beowulf* are contributed by Professor A. S. Cook (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, March and June). He suggests that *deorc deapscua* in line 161 and *mistige moras* in line 163 are echoes of *in umbram mortis* and *montes caliginosos* of Jeremiah xiii. 16. Those who believe in a strong and detailed influence of the vulgate bible text on *Beowulf* will no doubt be glad to accept this suggestion. In *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Feb. 1924, Professor Cook endeavoured to show that the poet of *Beowulf* was acquainted with Aldhelm's work, and he continues his search for evidence in his short article *Aldhelm and the source of Beowulf 2523* (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, March). He finds a remarkable similarity between the dragon of *Beowulf* and a legendary dragon described in *De Laudibus Virginum*, which the virgin Victoria (later a martyr) put to flight after it had infected with its poisonous breath the Italian city of Tribula. Aldhelm speaks of the dragon's *virus et flatus* 'venom and breath'; in *Beowulf* 2523 is a similar hendiadys [*o*]reðes ond

attres 'of breath and venom' = 'of venomous breath'. Professor Cook believes that Aldhelm was the source of the phrase in *Beowulf*. The parallels must be more extensive than this, however, before many will be convinced that there is any literary relationship between Aldhelm and *Beowulf*.

In *Bitter Beer-drinking* (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, May) Professor Cook goes to the trouble of proving that *bitre beorþegu* in *Andreas* (line 1533) cannot mean 'drinking of bitter beer', because beer in England was not made bitter by the use of hops until the sixteenth century. This was surely obvious without the evidence of the hops; syntactically it would be difficult to make the bitterness a quality of the beer, and in the context such an interpretation would be extremely perverse. The *bitre beorþegu* of the heavy-drinking Myrmidonians is naturally understood as a sarcastic description of their drowning in the flood.

Further notes on Old English poems are contributed by Mr. R. S. Mackie (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, Feb.). Among other observations, Mr. Mackie states that in *The Wanderer*, line 85, the manuscript reads *ypde*, not *ypðe*, as the various editors of the poem have believed. In line 29 he thinks the manuscript has *wēman* 'attract, allure', not *wenian*. This reading had already been noted, and appears in Köhler and Holthausen's revised edition of Grein's *Sprachschatz der ags. Dichter*; but it is necessarily an uncertain one. In the Exeter Book *ni* cannot usually be distinguished with certainty from *m*, except when the context gives clear indication; and here *wenian* gives better sense.

In *The Cædmon Poems* (*Anglia*, July) Mr. S. J. Crawford assumes that Cædmon is the author of the Old English metrical version of Genesis, and examines his method of treating the biblical narrative. He notes that the order of events in the poem follows that of the traditional Classification of Topics taught by the Church, beginning with God the Creator and His Nature, then describing the empyrean heaven, the fall of the angels, the creation of the world, and so on, leading up to the birth and life of Christ, the crucifixion, the resurrection, and the last judgement. This traditional classification of events also forms the design of cycles of miracle plays in the Middle

Ages. 'The relatively large amount of space (apart altogether from Genesis B) devoted to angelology' and the absence of references to Christ support Mr. Crawford's suggestion that the author was following the traditional order of events, and had perhaps planned to make the whole series the basis of a long epic. Mr. Crawford concludes that 'the information supplied by Cædmon's instructors was sufficient to enable him to treat on his own lines the chief articles in the Faith, and that he was not confined to the actual text of scripture'. The examination of the Genesis poem and its sources is of interest, but the confident assumption of Cædmon's authorship is unexpected. There may be no strong reason against assuming that Cædmon was the author, but neither is there any good reason for making the assumption. The burden of proof lies with those who seek to establish Cædmon's authorship; but only general considerations favour the assumption, which apply equally to Exodus. Why is it not claimed for Cædmon?

Dr. O. B. Schlutter continues his lexicographical notes on Old English words—*Weitere Beiträge zur ae. Wortforschung*—in *Anglia*, Dec. 1924 and July 1925. He exorcises several 'ghost-words', such as *uma*, which represents misreadings of *unian* 'onion', and shows his customary skill in unravelling tangled lexicographical history.

A close study of the many versions of Cædmon's hymn by Mr. M. G. Frampton (*Mod. Phil.*, Aug. 1924) establishes the text of the Moore MS. as 'not only the oldest in date, but as representing with authority the actual reading of the Hymn itself'. Wuest, who discovered two late copies of another (lost) Northumbrian text, thought that this lost text, which he was able to reconstruct without much difficulty from the two faithful copies, was older than the Moore MS. Mr. Frampton's arguments in favour of the Moore text are convincing, even though they include some inaccuracies. The form *end* for normal *and*, for example, he dismisses as a misspelling, whereas it is well attested in the oldest English texts and in other Germanic dialects. Incidentally Wuest's reconstructed version contains forms of interest to the student of Old Northumbrian: *scuilun*, in which *ui* is the *i*-mutation of *u*; in the last line *firum on foldu* supports *foldu*

as the interpretation of *folde* in the Moore MS.; but *sceppend* in line 6 raises doubts about the isolated form *scepen* in the Moore MS. If the form *scepen* is genuine, its single *p* shows that it is a distinct word from *sceppend*; it is perhaps from Germanic **skapinaz*, with the same suffix as Old English *dryhten*.

Four articles in the *Anglica-Festschrift* presented to Professor A. Brandl (see above, p. 32) are on Old English subjects: *Some Place-Name Identifications in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, by Professor A. Mawer; *Zu den altenglischen Lehnwörtern*, by K. Luick; *A note on the Battle of Brunanburh*, by F. Klaeber; *Die spätaltenglische Marienpredigt aus Vespasian D. XIV*, by M. Foerster. The two most important of these, by Luick and by Mawer, have been discussed above in Chapter II, pp. 40 and 50.

Professor W. A. Craigie (*J. E. G. P.*, July) discusses the question of *The Nationality of King Alfred's Wulfstan*, who is usually assumed to have been a Norseman. Professor Craigie thinks that he may have been an Anglo-Saxon. He points out that in the narrative of Wulfstan's voyage Anglian verbal forms are more frequent than in the account of Ohthere's voyage; and so for the narrative of Wulfstan 'we must either assume an Anglian scribe, whose hand is not prominent elsewhere in the book, or suppose that the difference in language is due to following pretty closely Wulfstan's own fashion of speech'. As Wulfstan's narrative is in the first person, Professor Craigie favours the second alternative, and suggests that Wulfstan was 'an Angle by birth and origin'. In this argument possibly too much importance is attached to the uncontracted verbal forms of Wulfstan's narrative; some of these were used in West Saxon as well as Anglian. Moreover, they occur elsewhere in the manuscript. In Chapter VI of Bosworth's edition there are four uncontracted forms of the third singular of the present tense, and only one contracted form; in the three following chapters are many contracted forms and no uncontracted forms. Must an Anglian scribe or dictator be assumed for Chapter VI? The distribution of such forms in a late manuscript is apt to be haphazard.

Professor G. H. Gerould (*J. E. G. P.*, April), describes Ælfric's use of his sources in writing his two versions of the *Life of St. Martin*. In the main Ælfric followed Sulpicius Severus and a passage in the *Historia Francorum* of Gregory of Tours, but in his second (the alliterative) version he drew from a further source, Gregory of Tours' *De Virtutibus S. Martini*. In another article, *Abbot Ælfric's Rhythmic Prose*, published in *Modern Philology*, May, Professor Gerould attempts to account historically for the peculiarities of Ælfric's alliterative rhythmic prose. He notes that in the Latin literature which Ælfric read there are numerous rhetorical devices which often give an effect which resembles that of Ælfric's rhythmic prose. These devices are rhyme, parallelism, antithesis, and rhythmic endings of sentences. He suggests that Ælfric formed his peculiar style under the influence of such ornate Latin prose as was written by Abbo of Fleury and Sulpicius Severus, that he substituted alliteration for their rhyme and gave a rhythmic ending to every clause, not merely to the final one. When one makes a test with the actual work of Ælfric, however, one finds that most of the endings of his rhythmic groups do not correspond to the *cursus* of Latin sentence-endings. In the first rhythmic sentence of *King Eadmund*, for example, the pauses divide the sentence into groups containing two stresses like alliterative verse, and only two of the six groups in any way resemble Latin *cursus*. It may be conceded to Professor Gerould that it is unlikely that Ælfric was actually trying to write verse; but it seems still more unlikely that he was trying to compose in *cursus*.

IV

MIDDLE ENGLISH

[BY DOROTHY EVERETT]

IN an account of this year's work in Middle English there seems good reason for neglecting chronological order and beginning with the study of Chaucer. Not only does he receive, as usual, the lion's share of attention, but his writings are the subject of Dr. Aage Brusendorff's book,¹ easily the most important piece of work in the Middle English field.

Dr. Brusendorff's aim is to examine the way in which our knowledge of Chaucer's writings has been handed down, and so to determine how far our MSS. contain what Chaucer actually wrote. There are two sides to this problem; to discover how much of Chaucer's work we have left and in what state he left it. This is 'a bibliographical inquiry in the true sense of that term'.

The successful results of this inquiry are in part due to the author's readiness to use the work of earlier scholars, but his own scholarship is everywhere apparent. His knowledge of Chaucerian and other fifteenth-century MSS. often enables him to suggest convincingly which manuscript variant represents Chaucer's own version, which a revision by the poet himself, and which is due to a scribe or early editor. He throws light on the general conditions of fifteenth-century book production, carrying further Miss Hammond's work in this direction. His passion and ability for collecting evidence have led him to collate all the available MSS. of Claudian's *De Raptu Proserpinae* to prove, against most other authorities, the correctness of the reading 'which that he rauysshed out of Ethna' (E 2230) in some MSS. of *The Canterbury Tales*. He has sound views on the relative value of different kinds of evidence (see pp. 50, 393), and only very occasionally, in a book full of new suggestions, is the evidence strained or conjecture treated as fact. A few instances there are which must be mentioned. Chaucer

¹ *The Chaucer Tradition*, by Aage Brusendorff. O.U.P. pp. 510. 16s. net.

does not *often*, as Dr. Brusendorff states (p. 23), refer to his habit of reading his poems aloud; in fact even the few passages cited do not all necessarily imply this. That Lydgate must have read *Annelida and Arcite* and *The Broche of Thebes* in Shirley's MSS. (see p. 42) is a conjecture based on the insufficient evidence that the 'two men were evidently acquaintances'. More serious are the unsubstantiated deductions from the lines to Adam about the relations between Chaucer and the *scriptoria*. Nor does the account of the origin of the present text of the *Romance of the Rose* seem based on sufficient evidence, though the hypothesis that it is due to a scribe who wrote the poem down from memory is a bold and interesting one and not impossible.

Dr. Brusendorff's first chapter discusses the various portraits of the poet that have come down to us in MSS., concluding that they all derive from two contemporary portraits. It examines the connexion between Lydgate and Chaucer and decides that, though they were not personal acquaintances, Lydgate had a safe source of information about Chaucer in the next two generations of the Chaucer family.

The MSS. of *The Canterbury Tales* are the main subject of the next chapter. The work of Zupitza and Koch is criticized as being often wrong in detail and that of Miss Hammond as being, like Bradshaw's, based on the mistaken assumption that the MSS. can be classified according to their arrangement of tales and links. Dr. Brusendorff's own grouping is according to the variations of certain characteristic passages in different MSS. By this means he arrives at the conclusion that there are two main groups of MSS. which he calls the *All England* and the *Oxford*. The All England group splits up into three chief subdivisions, called by him the Ellesmere, the Cambridge, and the London groups, and represented by MSS. Ellesmere, Camb. Dd. 4.24, and Harl. 7335 respectively. MSS. of these groups, however, not only point to a common tradition, but indicate that each group had a partially independent origin. The Ellesmere MS. is the best of all and its evidence should be accepted unless directly against that of the majority of other MSS. MS. Hengwrt stands by itself in the All England group.

The Oxford group divides into two main subdivisions called

the Corpus and Bodley groups, represented by the Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and Petworth MSS.

In his discussion of 'The Text', Dr. Brusendorff deprecates the attempt to produce regular metrical lines by emendation, and thinks that Chaucer was not always particular about this. Nor can we be certain that some lines unsatisfactory in sense are not due to Chaucer himself. The efforts of scholars to make the tales fit into a 'careful scheme of topographical and chronological landmarks' are criticized and Dr. Brusendorff concludes that allusions to time and place arise merely from Chaucer's wish to develop the pilgrimage *motif* artistically and that artificial arrangement of the tales, of the kind attempted in the past, is indefensible in view of the state in which Chaucer left his MSS. No one can tell how he would finally have arranged them. Dr. Brusendorff then shows how he believes Chaucer did leave the MSS., and makes some observations on the authenticity of marginal notes and manuscript headings.

His third chapter deals with *The Legend of Good Women*, *The House of Fame*, *Troilus*, and the Prose Works. For the former he prefers the title *Legend of Cupid's Saints*, and he makes the point that the poem is modelled on a medieval legendary, but is not properly speaking a parody. He holds with Professor Manly that Chaucer did not leave *The House of Fame* unfinished, but that its fragmentary state is due to the mutilated copies which are all that have come down to us. Chaucer has borrowed suggestions from Froissart's *Le Temple D'Onnour* and in all probability his poem would have ended very like that of Froissart with a hint of the marriage of two prominent persons, in this case that of Richard II and Anne of Bohemia. This was the 'tydynges of Love's folke' which the poet set out to hear, and they would have been announced by the 'man of great auctorite' who appears just before the poem breaks off. His explanation of the variant readings in *Troilus* is that the text goes back to Chaucer's own draft in which passages were added on loose slips or in the margin. This would explain why Chaucer's original and revised versions are mixed in all extant MSS.

The chapter on the *Minor Poems* begins with some general remarks on MS. collections of short poems. Dr. Brusendorff

then attempts to ascertain how the Minor Poems came to appear in the textual forms in which we have them. He believes in the existence of sets of small, separate MSS. in the possession of the *scriptorium*. The first set he calls the *Hammond Group* (consisting of ten items, not all Chaucer's), the second the *Tyrwhitt Group*, consisting of six Chaucerian items, the third the *Bradshaw Group*, probably a set of stray copies and representing the earliest group of Chaucerian Texts. These groups of text were often copied several times; for instance, the Hammond Group was used in Fairfax 16, Bodley 638, Tanner 346, and other MSS. The publishers got their scribes to copy short poems and unite them more or less at random to form collections that would attract customers. The *Shirley Group* presents rather different problems and is treated separately. Dr. Brusendorff then studies the poems one by one, chiefly from the point of view of sources and authenticity. He claims as Chaucer's the *Balade of a Reeve*, on the evidence of Shirley's ascription of it to him in MS. Add. 16165.

His views on the *Romance of the Rose* are subversive. He believes that the whole of the ME. *Romance* which has come down to us is at bottom Chaucer's work; the three so-called fragments do not differ as greatly as has been stated and, where they do differ, scribal interference will account for it. Chaucer made a translation of the whole French poem and the peculiarities of the present text are due to a scribe who wrote down the poem from memory.

Among the spurious works, discussed in his last chapter, Dr. Brusendorff places the Rosemounde *balade* and *Merciles Beaute*, giving good reasons for his disagreement with the opinions of most other scholars. Finally a list is given of works undoubtedly Chaucer's, with comments on the state in which Chaucer left them. The appendices, on Lydgate and Shirley, on annotations of *The Canterbury Tales*, and on Chaucer and Deschamps all contain new matter.

It should perhaps be noted that though a formidable list of *errata* is given, there still remain a number of slips not corrected.

Very near in aim to some of Dr. Brusendorff's work is Miss

Hammond's important article on *The Nine-Syllabled Pentameter Line in Some Post-Chaucerian Manuscripts* (*Mod. Phil.*, Nov.). The next step in Chaucerian and fifteenth-century research is, she believes, to establish, as far as possible, the identity and behaviour of fifteenth-century scribes, in order that what Chaucer intended us to read may be discovered by subtracting scribal interference. In this article she studies the treatment of the 'nine-syllabled line', defined as the headless line or the broken-backed line (lacking an unaccented syllable at the verse pause), in the MSS. of five poems. Comparison of several MSS. of Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules* shows that when all allowances have been made for nine-syllabled lines due to omissions of words in some MSS. (detected through their appearance in others), or to the omission of a final -e owing to a scribe's bad ear or carelessness, there still remain some which cannot be explained away. Hoccleve's *Letter of Cupid*, examined in the same way, shows fewer, but Lydgate's *Complaint of the Black Knight* far more. These three poems all occur in the same 'Oxford' group of MSS. (to use Miss Hammond's nomenclature) which shows a constant element of omission and mishandling of -e, but the differences between the percentages of nine-syllabled lines in the three poems remain when the constant element is allowed for.

Miss Hammond then notes that the Wentworth-Wodehouse MS. of the ME. translation of the *De re rustica* of Palladius shows no instance of a nine-syllabled line. The translator tells us that Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, for whom it was executed, taught him 'metring'.

Chaucer's *Second Nun's Tale* in the Ellesmere MS. has only a very few lines in which omission or mistreatment of -e can be detected, and, though the Corpus MS. shows many more flagrant errors, it has no more nine-syllabled lines due to these causes than the Ellesmere. Evidently the Corpus scribe had an excellent archetype which he occasionally maltreated.

Summing up, she remarks that for each text we have to reckon with the author's theory, the scribe's tendency to conscious or unconscious deviation, and the possibility of supervision. The Palladius transcript was the result of well-defined theory and supervision; so are the MSS. of Chaucer's *Second*

Nun's Tale, marred in the Corpus transcript by occasional lapses. The Shirley and Selden copies of Hoccleve's and Lydgate's poems show conscious alteration owing to the scribes' dislike of the nine-syllabled line.

Chaucer clearly used the nine-syllabled line as a metrical variant, Hoccleve discarded it, but Lydgate erected it into a type. Miss Hammond does not believe that Lydgate's numerous nine-syllabled lines can be due to the loss of the final *-e*; in his work they were deliberately modelled on Chaucer's. The metrical regularity of the Palladius translation in the second quarter of the fifteenth century shows clearly that the tradition of the *-e* had been preserved.

The article by Mr. Richard F. Jones, *A Conjecture on the Wife of Bath's Prologue* (*J. E. G. P.*, Oct.), should be contrasted with certain conclusions of Dr. Brusendorff. The latter uses the lines in the Shipman's Prologue (B. 1202-9), which are clearly spoken by a woman, as an instance of a supposed slip on Chaucer's part which is in reality no slip at all. He thinks that Chaucer has merely made the male teller of the story introduce a woman to speak as a representative of her sex and that ll. 1202-9 ('He moot us clothe . . . Or lene us gold') should be printed in inverted commas as indicating what any woman might be supposed to say. The whole theory which Mr. Jones puts forward falls to the ground unless it is conceded that this passage was originally written by Chaucer to be spoken by the Wife of Bath and that it is by a slip that it is still to be found embedded in the present Shipman's Prologue. His examination of the present Wife's Prologue leads him to the belief that originally the Wife was made to begin her tale after l. 193. Differences in the attitude of the Wife and in the use of sources by Chaucer before and after l. 193 indicate that the Prologue consists of two parts written at different times. The present Shipman's Prologue was originally the first part of the Wife's Prologue and was followed, after a passage that has been omitted (and which Mr. Jones conjectures to have been in the nature of a debate between the Parson and the Wife on marriage and chastity), by the first part of the present Wife's Prologue. The Wife then told the present Shipman's Tale.

This means that the Wife must once have been the interrupter in B. 1179 who objects to the Host's suggestion of a tale from the Parson. Mr. Jones discusses the bearing of these conclusions on the sequence of some of the tales. Referring to the words 'I speke in prose' in the Man of Law's Prologue, he argues that Chaucer first gave *Melibeus* to the Man of Law, who was followed by the Doctor and Pardoner (Group C.). Then the host turned to the Parson for a tale as in the present Shipman's Prologue, the Wife interrupted with her Prologue and Tale and there followed the rest of group B². Rearrangement was made necessary by the idea of a number of tales on the question of sovereignty in marriage in which the Wife must take her part.

Mr. Jones's theory of the original relation between the present Shipman's Prologue and Tale and Wife's Prologue is based on careful study of the text and an attempt to work out the implications of Chaucer's words. The rest of the theory is interesting, but is not likely to be accepted without more evidence than Mr. Jones has been able to produce.

In *M. L. N.* (March) Mr. P. F. Baum studies the *Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, suggesting that *Pars Secunda* was probably not written for the *Canterbury Tales* but was a satire, exposing the deceits of alchemists, addressed to a body of canons (see G. 972-3), and adapted for its present purpose by the insertion of a few lines. Mr. Baum has a good note on the chemical processes described in the *Tale*.

Of theories about the two prologues of *The Legend of Good Women* there is no end. Mr. Hugo Lange in *Neue Beiträge zu einer endgültigen Lösung der Legendenprologfrage bei Chaucer* (*Anglia*, May and Oct.) has new arguments for the priority of the F version, based on the supposed symbolism of the description of Cupid and Alcestis. In F we are told of Cupid that 'His gilte here was corowned with a sonne In stede of gold'; that is, for gold, the earthly element, is substituted the heavenly light which represents pure love—matrimonial love, for which Chaucer, in this poem, renounces courtly love. This typifies the love of Richard II (who is presented in both Prologues by Cupid) for Anne of Bohemia (presented in F by

Alcestis, who 'taught al the crafte of fine loving, And namely of *wyfhode* the lyvyng'). In Gg the crown of the god of love is composed of rose leaves stuck with lily flowers, a refinement on the crown of roses which the god of love wears in the *Roman de la Rose*, since the lilies typify chastity. This indicates that Chaucer now had in mind the purely formal marriage of Richard II in 1396 to the seven-year-old child, Isabella of France.

This argument for the priority of the F prologue demands unqualified acceptance of Mr. Lange's not very convincing interpretation of the symbolism of the *Legend*. His second argument seems a little more weighty. He shows that the refrain in the F version of the *balade* is nearer than the Gg to a *balade* of Froissart which Chaucer evidently had in mind. If it be true, as Mr. Lange believes, that some distance of time separates the two prologues, it is not likely that the poet, in retouching, would have increased the resemblance of his poem to its source.

Two scholars offer interpretations of different passages in Chaucer. Professor Karl Young discusses *Chaucer's Renunciation of Love in 'Troilus'* (*M. L. N.*, May) and suggests that the 'love' referred to is courtly love, in accordance with the principles of which the whole poem is written. The poet is suffering a revulsion from this 'feyned' love and counsels his readers to seek heavenly love. Chaucer is not the first to set forth the practices of courtly love and its merits and then turn against it. In the last book of the *De Amore* of Andreas Capellanus he declares that he has expounded the art of love in order that Gualterius, who is mentioned in the preface, may avoid it and achieve reward in heaven.

The reference to 'Tullius kindenesse' in *Lenvoy de Chaucer a Scogan* is traced by Mr. R. C. Goffin (*M. L. R.*, July) to a passage in the *Roman de la Rose* in which the different kinds of love—sexual love and friendship—are described, and Cicero referred to. The test of love in each case is whether or not it is profitable. Chaucer says Scogan has flouted the first kind of love but is too old to be punished for it; he then calls upon him to bear in mind the second kind and since Chaucer, his friend, has no

reward for his poetry, to let his love bear fruit in the shape of benefits for his friend.

Several writers have brought knowledge of contemporary life and thought to bear on the interpretation of Chaucer. Mr. E. P. Kuhl (*Chaucer and the Church*, *M. L. N.*, June), attempting to define precisely Chaucer's attitude to the Church, decides that his sympathies were with that party in the country which strengthened the resistance of Richard II to papal aggression. This conclusion depends on the identification of the 'erchedekene' of the Friar's Tale with Walter Skirlawe, for some years archdeacon of Holderness, and, judging from contemporary records, a powerful ally of the pope and an enemy of Richard. Chaucer's attack on the 'erchedekene' reveals the same attitude to Skirlawe as a remonstrance to the pope drawn up by the King's Council in 1390, if Mr. Kuhl is right in applying the remark made there that 'election by chapters . . . is now of little or no effect' to the successive preferment of Skirlawe by the pope to three bishoprics in as many years. Unfortunately the identity of Chaucer's 'erchedekene' with Skirlawe is not conclusively proven. In his main argument Mr. Kuhl assumes that the 'erchedekene' is of the 'mersshy contree called Holdernesse', ignoring the fact that Chaucer's reference to Holdernesse is in the Sumner's Tale and not the Friar's, and this difficulty he later attempts to get over by a not entirely relevant note which runs 'How much humour did Chaucer's audience see in the fact that it is the Sumner's—not the Friar's—story that is localized at Holdernesse?'

The same writer (*M. L. N.*, Dec.) draws attention to three documents belonging to the years 1395 and 1396 in the *Calendar of Close Rolls* in which Chaucer heads a list of witnesses. In one Chaucer is associated with his friend, Sir Philip Vache, and all three point to Greenwich as the place where the poet was living at this time.

In an article on *Characters in Medieval Literature* (*M. L. N.*, Jan.) Professor Howard K. Patch shows that Chaucer's character sketches in the Prologue to *The Canterbury Tales* were not as unique in form in their own day as has been implied. In

medieval treatises on vices and virtues, qualities and traits are enumerated in such a way as to represent familiar human types and the details reflect real life. Examples of such characterization are quoted, particularly from the *Ancren Riwele*. Similar descriptions appear in allegorical writings such as the *Roman de la Rose*, *Piers Plowman*, and the *Confessio Amantis*, but are more detailed and more artistic. The three stages—creation of the ‘Character’ in the moral treatises, the development of the form in the allegories, and Chaucer’s dramatic use of it—are paralleled in the history of the seventeenth-century ‘Character’. Hall, in the moral *Vices and Virtues*, is one of the earliest writers of it, and at the end of its history it is used dramatically by Addison and Steele.

To set Chaucer’s Nuns against their fitting background, the life of the cloister, is the purpose of Sister M. Madeleva’s essay.² The *Rule of St. Benedict*, under which the Prioress was living, is used to illumine many of Chaucer’s remarks about her. He commented on her singing of the Divine Office because it was the main business of her life; her well-pinched wimple is the typical collar of the Benedictine habit; her brooch with its motto ‘*Amor vincit omnia*’ might be worn by any religious at the present day. There is no evidence for the usual belief that she is young; her position in her community would argue otherwise. It is not possible to follow Sister Madeleva all the way in her attempt to clear the Prioress from all worldly taint, but it is valuable to have this corrective to the other more common view of her complete worldliness—a view that leaves us unprepared for her tale.

The prologues and tales of the Prioress and the Second Nun are shown to reveal the influence of their daily prayers. In them they paraphrase those parts of the Morning Office in which the Virgin is invoked. It is noteworthy that Chaucer has used here the shorter Little Office and not the Divine Office.

Mr. W. C. Curry brings a great deal of erudition to bear upon

² *Chaucer’s Nuns and Other Essays*, by Sister M. Madeleva. New York: Appleton. pp. xiii, 216. 6s. net.

the description of the Doctour of Physik (*P. Q.*, Jan.). He shows how a disease was diagnosed by reference to astrology and the theory of the humours, both of which Chaucer's physician understood. Yet perhaps the physician could better *speak* of medicine and surgery than practise it. Chaucer hints that he was in league with his apothecaries to fleece the patient, and, like some seventeenth-century doctors, he prescribed *aurum potabile* because even a little of it enabled him to charge high prices for his medicine. His lack of interest in the Bible brings him into line with the godless physicians of whom John of Salisbury complains.

The credit of English Chaucerian scholarship has been saved by the completion of the great collection of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion³ which Professor Spurgeon has been for some time compiling for the Chaucer Society. The last two parts (Introduction and Index) have now appeared and the whole work has been reprinted with corrections. Chaucer scholars and those interested in the history of criticism are equally under an obligation to Professor Spurgeon. She points out in her introduction that the collection affords a unique opportunity for study of the practice of English criticism, and she traces the fluctuations in literary taste and the increase in scholarship which it reveals. By the earliest writers the poet is chiefly praised for eloquence; in the sixteenth century he is popular as a fine moral teacher, or a learned poet. The late seventeenth- and most of the eighteenth-century critics commented on his joviality and facetiousness. Criticism is rarely independent until after the publication of Tyrwhitt's edition, but in the earlier centuries Dryden appreciates qualities unremarked in his day. Professor Spurgeon notes that no one comments on Chaucer's humour, in the sense in which we use the term, before Thomas Warton in 1754, and she suggests that the appreciation of humour is a late growth in England.

The remainder of Professor Spurgeon's introduction gives us

³ *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion, 1357-1900*, by Caroline F. E. Spurgeon. C.U.P. Vol. i, part i, pp. cxliv, 504; vol. ii, part ii, pp. 288, part iii, pp. 152; vol. iii, part iv, pp. 109, part v, pp. 153, Index, pp. 87. 50s. net.

some notes on Chaucer lovers and workers through the centuries, and on the evolution of Chaucerian biography and scholarship.

One or two comments may be made on minor points in the introduction. It is not certain that Chaucer knew Lydgate, as is stated on p. xii, nor can it be proved that the dialect of London would not have been the standard English speech had Chaucer never lived (see p. cxxx); facts point the other way. If only in view of Dr. Brusendorff's researches it cannot be justly claimed that the Chaucer Society finally settled the Chaucer Canon (see p. lxix).

It would be impossible to give any adequate account of the main contents of these three large volumes. They contain the allusions up to the year 1800 'fairly completely' as Professor Spurgeon modestly remarks, and a selection of those from 1800 to 1900. The range of the writings that have been searched and the care with which the selection in the last century has been made more than explain the twenty-three years which the compiler tells us have been spent on the work.

Invaluable to students of Chaucer is Professor J. Koch's survey *Der gegenwärtige Stand der Chaucerforschung* (*Anglia*, Oct.), a most exhaustive account of everything worthy of note that has been written on the poet since 1908. Professor Koch groups his material according to subject, first dealing with books and articles that have a general application, such as those on Chaucer and his times, literary criticisms, complete editions, research on his life, and on foreign literary influence. Then he surveys separately what has been done on each work of Chaucer's. In most cases Professor Koch summarizes the most important results of each piece of research, giving his own considered judgement on it, but sometimes the reader is referred to a good critical review. One is struck by the ease with which this mass of material is handled and the sureness of most of the critical judgements.

Two new interpretations of the *Pearl* have appeared. In the longer of them ⁴ Sister Madeleva maintains that it is an allegory

⁴ *Pearl. A Study in Spiritual Dryness*, by Sister M. Madeleva. New York: Appleton. pp. xvi, 226. 7s. 6d. net.

expressing a spiritual state well known to those who practise the mystical life, and described, often in similar language, by medieval religious writers. This is the state of 'spiritual dryness', of apparent abandonment by God, into which the young religious often falls after having experienced spiritual joy. Many descriptions of it are quoted by Sister Madeleva in her second chapter. She follows this up by a survey of mystical writings on the Continent and in England before and during the fourteenth century. Here she is traversing comparatively well-known paths. The main part of the book is a detailed discussion of the allegorical significance of the poem. Her chief points are that the lost pearl symbolizes, not a child, but a state of soul, the spiritual joy which is the first experience of the practising mystic. The poet has lost this joy and grieves for it until, by means of the dream, he is reconciled to whatever God has in store for him. In the dream itself the maiden represents his own soul 'in the state of such potential perfection and happiness as is congruous to it at this time of his life'. The maiden's explanation that she is the Bride of the Lamb proves that the poet is a man in religious life, since only the religious, who keep the vow of chastity, think of heaven in just these terms. Sister Madeleva finds no evidence at all that the poet is lamenting the death of his little daughter.

The central idea of the book is interesting as suggesting a new approach to the problem of interpretation, and, on the whole, it has been worked out in close connexion with the text of the poem. It is dangerous, however, to base an important piece of argument on Sir Israel Gollancz's reading 'quat kyn of triys' (l. 755), rendered by him 'what is the peace', when Professor Osgood's edition shows that this reading is not accepted by all scholars. A weakness of the book is the writer's tendency to strain her arguments too far and to force deductions where they are not warranted. For instance, the gradual recognition of the maiden by the poet is no sign that she does not represent his daughter, since surprise might make him slow. The book could have been simplified and the argument rendered easier to follow and no less convincing by the omission of some of the many quotations from other mystical writers, particularly in Chapter IV. Had they all been close parallels to passages in

the *Pearl*, as a few of them are, their inclusion might have been justified.

Mr. Walter Kirkland Greene's article, *The Pearl—A New Interpretation* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.), takes the discussion of the doctrine of divine grace and the exposition of the Parable of the Workers in the Vineyard (ll. 421–720) as the central theme of the poem. The aim of the poet was to illustrate this doctrine, and he used the allegorical figure of a child who died in infancy to express his own views.

Mr. Greene examines the theories of Professors Osgood, Bateson and Schofield, and Mr. Coulton's, and points out where each is, to his mind, unsatisfactory. In criticizing Professor Bateson's view he objects that it implies that the poet used the maiden to symbolize at once a real person, his daughter, and an abstraction, pure maidenhood; Mr. Greene thinks it improbable that he used the same symbol for two different things. But does not Spenser's explanation 'In that Faery Queene I meane glory in my generall intention, but in my particular I conceive the most excellent and glorious person of our souveraine the Queene' show him to have done just this improbable thing?

The edition of *Sir Gawain and The Greene Knight*⁵ by Professors Tolkien and E. V. Gordon stands in the front rank of editions of Middle English texts.⁶ The MS. has been treated with respect. There is no flaunting of wanton conjectures: corrections have been made only where scribal corruption is indubitable. But brilliant emendations there are, and everywhere scholarly restraint.

The full and learned Commentary is sound philology in the wide sense of the word; and it is free from irrelevant matter. The Glossary is a model of thoroughness. The Introduction, in which evidence is brought forward for dating the poem in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, has the right limits. Helpful sections are added, on grammar, metre, and other features.

⁵ *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed. by J. R. R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon. O.U.P. pp. xxviii + 211. 7s. 6d. net.

⁶ The notice of this volume has been contributed by Mr. J. H. G. Grattan [Eds.].

Criticism of details has no place in this short notice. But one must point out a serious error in the note on l. 1240: the 'unsatisfactory' syntax is common enough in ME. (cf. Eikenkel, *Hist. Syntax*, p. 130). The restriction of *ung*-forms to the north-west Midlands (p. xxiv) is unsupported by the modern dialects. There are some trifling inaccuracies in the section on Alliteration. The value of the Introduction would be increased by more detailed reference (p. xxiii) to the proofs of Midland origin. In the next edition—which should speedily be called for—one would ask for further evidence in support of what appears to be a too ready acceptance of Kittredge's assumption of a French original.

All students of Medieval English owe the editors a debt of gratitude for this learned and attractive book.

This poem received the attention of Professor Robert Max Garrett shortly before his death (*J. E. G. P.*, Jan.). His article shows the link between the 'alliterative revival' and the sense of national unity and pride which was the result of the glories of Edward III's reign. Everywhere in literature as well as in social customs English forms and habits were revived. *Sir Gawain* takes its place in this revival, though it excels in beauty other poems of the time. So far Professor Garrett's article is suggestive, though one cannot help noticing the distance of time between the historical events to which he refers and the date of the poem as worked out by Professor Tolkien and Professor Gordon. It is more difficult to follow him when he endeavours to show that the poet was deliberately modelling his work on the Breton *lais* of Marie de France. The characteristics which he notes as shared in common by *Sir Gawain* and the Breton *lais* are not sufficiently significant to prove this, especially since both the *Gawain* poet and Marie were writing romances. On the other hand, there are features of style, description, and general outlook in *Sir Gawain* that have no parallel in the Breton *lais*, and are too fundamental to be ignored.

Arthurian romance in general is approached from two widely different angles by Mr. R. S. Loomis in an article on *Medieval Iconography and the Question of Arthurian Origins* (*M. L. N.*, Feb.), and Dr. E. Van der Ven-Ten Bonsel in his book *The*

*Character of King Arthur in English Literature.*⁷ The former deplores the neglect of archaeology by students of medieval literature and maintains that it would be impossible to believe in any origin but the Celtic for Arthurian tradition if the evidence of archaeology were given due consideration. He recants his opinion that the Perceval casket at the Louvre is influenced by Chrestien's *Perceval* and now believes that it gives evidence of the existence of a more primitive tradition, and that a Celtic one. Archaeological evidence points to a great mass of floating Arthurian tradition before the time of Geoffrey and Chrestien.

Dr. E. Van der Ven-Ten Bensel's examination of the character of Arthur as he appears in all periods of English literature ends with the conclusion that the characteristics of the most primitive accounts of the king and of the stories closely connected with him have remained outstanding down to the present time. He believes that few of them are due to the invention of the early writers of the legend (such as Geoffrey of Monmouth); they were already there as a result of Arthur's origin in myth. He refuses to accept the view of Arthur as a merely historical figure, but admits that upholders of the mythical origin of Arthur are often wrong in detail and have not made sufficient use of evidence afforded by present-day survivals of pre-Christian nature ritual. In Arthur he sees an original culture-divinity who is secure of success until Guinevere, the sun-maiden, is captured by the powers of darkness. Gawain is the sun-hero whose presence is also essential to the well-being of the culture-hero.

It is not very clear how these conclusions are arrived at. The writer's plan is to examine first the earliest references to Arthur, in particular early Welsh ones and the portraits of the king given by Geoffrey of Monmouth, Wace, and Layamon; then he sketches Chrestien's Arthur, the great king of romance, and outlines the English treatment of him in the medieval romances, in Malory, and in writers of the succeeding centuries up to the nineteenth. His analysis of the character bestowed on Arthur by each writer is very full and well documented. Particularly

⁷ *The Character of King Arthur in English Literature*, by E. Van der Ven-Ten Bensel. Amsterdam: H. J. Paris. pp. 215.

well illustrated are the differences between the Arthur of Wace, logical, prudent, and chivalrous, and the Arthur of Layamon, emotional and noble-hearted, a king whose mysterious origin we are never allowed to forget. But often in the midst of characteristics and events ascribed to the invention of individual authors, some one feature is arbitrarily singled out and said to be due to the supposed mythical origin of the legend; an instance is the fight at Yuletide in Layamon, the brutal character of which, we are told, is an indication that we have to do with ancient traditions. Dr. Van der Ven-Ten Bonsel's two interests—the outlining of the character of Arthur as treated by different writers, and the tracing of the mythical elements in the character all through—seem to cut across one another and prevent his developing his thesis in a definite direction. The clear summary of results at the end does not remedy this.

The English of the book is in places incorrect. 'Arthur, the king, who is substituted as rescuer by Lancelot' (p. 51) does not mean what it says and is as difficult to unravel as 'His feelings of justice are neither developed so well as later' (p. 144).

Mr. G. R. Owst's article, *The 'Angel' and the 'Goliardeys' of Langland's Prologue* (*M. L. R.*, July), utters a much needed warning against over-stressing the originality of Langland's attitude towards the abuses of his time. Langland has much in common with contemporary books of homilies. In most of them is to be found the ideal of society reaching harmony through the proper working of its established Orders and criticism of the existing state of things with reference to this ideal. Mr. Owst has worked out a particular illustration of the connexion between Langland's poem and medieval homilies. He believes that the 'angel of hevene' (*Prologue*, 'B' text, ll. 128 ff.) who 'Lowed to speke in latyn' can be identified with Thomas Brunton, Bishop of Rochester, whose fame was very great at the time when this passage was added in the 'B' text (i. e. June 1376—June 1377). One of his sermons belongs to the period when Parliament met in April 1376. Mr. Owst thinks Langland has in mind this very sermon, which, he notes, contains a comparison of the situation of Parliament with that of the rats and the mice in the fable.

The 'goliardeys, a glotoun of wordes' (l. 139) who answers the angel, Mr. Owst identifies with Sir Peter de la Mare, spokesman of the Commons, whose complaints to the King indicate that he upheld the views of Brunton.

Professor R. W. Chambers, in the first article in the *Review of English Studies* (Jan.), gives us the benefit of his judgement on the problems studied in recent research on the *Ancren Riwele*. The case for the priority of the English version over the French he regards as proved by Miss Dymes. The opposite conclusion had been reached by Mr. Macaulay in the belief that the *a priori* probabilities were in favour of French being the original language, but this is not true for the period (roughly 1140-1220) to which the *Ancren Riwele* belongs.

Two theories of authorship are examined. Father Vincent McNabb's, that it was written by a Dominican, has already been disproved by Miss Hope Emily Allen; there is no satisfactory evidence for Dr. Joseph Hall's view that St. Gilbert of Sempringham was the author.

Miss Allen's suggestion that the book may have been written *tribus puellis Emmae videlicet et Gunildae et Christinae*, to whom the hermitage of Kilburn was granted between 1127 and 1135, receives very full consideration. The chief objection Professor Chambers sees to it is that the passages supposed by Miss Allen to be quoted from the writings of St. Bernard are from 'Bernardine literature of the generation succeeding the saint's death', and could hardly have been quoted by any one writing for these three recluses.

In a brief note (*M. L. N.*, May), Mrs. Beatrice Daw Brown indicates the source of the lyric which Professor Carleton Brown, in his collection *Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century*, entitles 'Jesus Pleads with the Worldling'. It is a rendering of a passage in the *Legenda Aurea* attributed to St. Bernard, though Mrs. Brown has not found it in his works.

Professor Carleton Brown himself has an addition to make to the list of ME. poems based on Latin works. He shows that the poem *An Holy Medytacion*, printed in Dr. MacCracken's

collection of Lydgate's Minor Poems, is for the most part an almost verbal translation of a Latin satiric poem *De Humana Miseria Tractatus* (*M.L.N.*, May). In two places the English poet, whose aim was didactic, departs from the Latin source, once in order that he may insert a passage on the joys of heaven and the torments of hell, and again at the end where he concludes with a conventional appeal for repentance and confession. Professor Brown re-examines the evidence that ascribes the poem to Lydgate. The first twenty lines are now shown not to echo Chaucer; the poem is written in couplets, not in one of the stanza forms Lydgate usually affected for short poems; rhymes are found which are not in accordance with Lydgate's usual practice; the MS. evidence resolves itself into a note by Shirley in Ashmole 59 attributing the poem to Lydgate. The conclusion is that there is not sufficient ground for assigning the poem to the Monk of Bury.

Mr. Benjamin P. Kurtz, in an article on *The Relation of Occleve's 'Lerne to Dye' to its Source* (*P.M.L.A.*, June), claims that the credit for this poem cannot be given unreservedly to Occleve. The best parts of the poem are a 'not inadequate, though not notably skilful rendering' of Suso's *Horologium*, the worst are invariably due to Occleve himself. The exhaustive analysis of the relation between the two works leaves no doubt of the 'correctness of these conclusions, but a selection of significant examples of Occleve's omissions and additions accompanying the illuminating discussion of their quality would have been equally convincing and far less wearisome than the numerical calculations that are given. Since there is no possibility of deciding, for example, which additions 'do not Materially Contribute to Content or Emphasis' on other than impressionistic grounds, a table giving the percentages of such additions occurring in the various stanzas seems of very little value.

A most ingenious interpretation of Daw's speech (ll. 136 ff.) in the Towneley *Secunda Pastorum* is offered by Professor Kemp Malone (*M.L.N.*, Jan.). He suggests that the MS. reading 'Ye are two all wyghtys' should be kept, and 'all wyghtys'

connected with OE. *ælwilt*, 'strange, uncanny creature'. This expression refers to the 'shrewys' of the preceding line which should be understood, not as 'rascals', but as 'shrew-mice' whom Daw sees 'peeping'. Daw had been grumbling at the weather, but his 'hart lyghtys' when he sees them because of the proverb that shrew-mice bring better weather. But there was another tradition that these same little animals were venomous and dangerous to flocks, and remembering this Daw will get his sheep out of their way by giving them 'A turne'. This is explained as a technical expression in coursing which Daw here has carried into everyday use.

Mr. Matthew H. Peacock (*T.L.S.*, 5 March) mentions some sixteenth-century records of the proceedings of the Wakefield Burgess Courts, one of which commands every craft to 'bringe furthe theire pagaunts of Corpus Christi daye as hathe bene heretofore'. This and another reference he takes as further evidence that the 'Towneley Plays' belonged to and were acted in Wakefield.

Among the new editions that have appeared may be mentioned the ME. Sermon preached by R. Wimbeldon in London at St. Paul's Cross on Quinquagesima Sunday 1388, which has been edited by Mr. K. F. Sundén from MS. Hatton 57.⁸ This MS. is a copy, as is indicated by certain careless errors and by the fact that the language of the MS. is later than 1387, the date at which the author says he was writing. Unfortunately the editor does not illustrate this last point. Some account of the language would have been valuable, not only for this purpose, but also because, as the editor himself says, part of the interest of the Sermon lies in its being written in the London dialect. The text itself represents the MS. faithfully, all necessary corrections and emendations being banished to the notes. The collation of MS. Hatton 57 with the other MSS. would have added to the value of the book.

Mr. Harry Wolcott Robbins edits the English version of the *Speculum Ecclesie* which is preserved in MS. Camb. I. i. 6. 40 (*P.M.L.A.*, June), pointing out the interesting features of

⁸ *A Famous Middle English Sermon*, edited by K. F. Sundén. Academical Program. Gothenburg. pp. xv, 36.

this MS. It alone ascribes the version to Richard Rolle, an ascription which need not be taken too seriously, and it contains numerous additions. These additions are italicized in Mr. Robbins's text and he has also indicated where the translator has omitted matter.

Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid*⁹ has been produced in a well-printed limited issue by the Porpoise Press, Mr. Bruce Dickins being responsible for the editing. His Textual and Bibliographical Note gives his reason for choosing the Charteris print of 1593 as the basis for his own text and shows where he has departed from its readings.

Miss Eleanor Prescott Hammond edits the poem *The Chance of the Dice*, found in two MSS. in the Bodleian Library (Fairfax 16 and Bodl. 638), of which only extracts have hitherto been printed (*Englische Studien*, 59. Band, 1. Heft). This poem, like *Ragman Roll* in the same MSS., was intended for an amusement for a company of people. The player cast three dice and according to his throw was assigned a stanza, indicated in the margin of the MS. by a picture of the dice in this particular combination.

The Meter of the Popular Ballad as it appears in Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* is investigated by Mr. George R. Stewart, Jr. (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.). He notes that in the 'septenary' ballad the seven stresses of the line always tend to be alternately strong and weak, thus:

$\cup \quad \cap \quad \cup \quad \cap \quad \cup \quad \cap \quad \cup \quad \cap \quad || \quad \cup \quad \cap \quad \cup \quad \cap \quad \cup \quad \cap$

This means that the line does not really consist of seven simple but of four complex units with an initial unstressed syllable. The units are of the type - ∪ - ∪, and the last of them is usually cut off after the primary stress. In fact, the structure is *dipodic*. Mr. Stewart applies to a number of ballads a method for testing dipodic structure which he has proposed in an earlier article, and finds it to be a regular feature of the best 'septenary' ballads. This conclusion is confirmed by many metrical features of these ballads. For instance, secondarily stressed syllables are

⁹ *The Testament of Cresseid*, by Robert Henryson, ed. by Bruce Dickins. Porpoise Press. pp. 46. 6s. net.

sometimes omitted, but primarily stressed syllables are not, as in 'But now I have it reaper, And some laid on my wain', which Mr. Stewart scans:

◡ | — ◡ — ◡ | — ◡ ^ ◡ | — ◡ — ◡ | —

Thus the distinction between the two kinds of stressed syllables, which is characteristic of dipodic verse, is preserved.

Some 'septenary' ballads do not show this dipodic structure, and Mr. Stewart argues that these have come down in a less primitive form.

Ballads apparently written in a stanza of four-stress lines reveal the same essential structure, with the difference that the line is extended to the secondary stress of the last foot:

◡ | — ◡ — ◡ | — ◡ — || ◡ | — ◡ — ◡ | — ◡ —

Then ffarewell hart, and farewell hand
And ffarwell all good companye.

Mr. Stewart considers examples in which the structure is more complicated, the dipod consisting not of four syllables but other arrangements metrically equivalent, and he finds in the ballads examples of the trisyllabic dipod, the dipod of two syllables, and of five, six, or even more. The scansion he suggests often has the merit of bringing out the force and meaning of lines in both the simple and more complex kinds of ballads.

Professor Tolkien offers *Some Contributions to Middle-English Lexicography* (*R. E. S.*, April) for the use of future compilers of Middle-English dictionaries. It is suggested that the original meaning of *burde* was 'embroidress' and that it is connected with OE. *borda*, embroidery, and **byrdan* (*be-byrdan*, *ge-byrdan*), to embroider. Among a number of notes on the glossary to the E. E. T. S. 1922 edition of *Holi Meidhad*, one of the most interesting is on *heme*, in the phrase *heme and hine*, for which a connexion with OE. *hāme*, inhabitants of a *hām*, is suggested. The phrase then means 'villagers' and 'members of a family' (or 'inmates of the monastery'), and implies a distinction between lower and higher orders of society.

A second article in the same periodical (July) discusses the word *eaueres* in *Holi Meidhad*, as a rule translated 'boars'.

This word has been taken as evidence of the survival in Middle English of OE. *eofor*, 'boar', but the passage in the prophet Joel to which the writer is referring has the word *jumenta* and the phonological equivalent is OE. *eafor* (a dialectal form of *afor*). This occurs once in OE. in combination with the word *cumfeorm*, referring to the obligation to harbour the king's messengers and further them with transport facilities. ME. *aver*, 'draught-horse', hitherto wrongly associated with O.F. *aveir*, is another development of it. Perhaps *eafor* first meant 'heavy (farm) work' and was specialized in meaning to the sense of 'drawing heavy loads' and then of 'horse for drawing heavy loads'.

A new etymology for ME. *askances* meaning 'as if, as though' is offered by Mr. Charles H. Livingston (*M. L. R.*, Jan.). The second element has already been recognized as derived from O.F. *quainse* (*quanses*, *queinsi*) meaning *comme*, *comme si*. The suggestion here is that the first is from Latin *ex-*, O.F. *es-*, which might appear as *as-* in Anglo-Norman. The original meaning 'way from, out, from' has been lost in a number of O.F. words, and probably this is another instance of the use of this meaningless prefix.

The phrase *busten and beten*, found in *Holi Meidhad* and elsewhere, is discussed by Mr. E. P. Magonn, Jr. (*M. L. N.*, Nov.), and the first word in it is connected by him with O. Icel. *beysta*, 'to beat', and the Swedish dialectal *bysta*, 'to strike'.

Mr. Magonn proposes as a rendering of the phrase *lof 7 grin* in the *Peterborough Chronicle* (1137) 'head-band and noose'. *Lóf* is found in OE. in an eleventh-century gloss to Aldhelm's *De Laudibus Virginitatis*, where it clearly means 'fillet', 'head-band'. The kind of sinister 'head-band' implied in the *Chronicle* is suggested by the passage 'men dide cnotted strenges abuton here haeved and wrythen to ðat it gaede to the haernes'.

Mr. A. H. Smith revives the suggestion that the elusive pronoun *she* is derived from OE. *hēo*, and points to a number of place-names in the North in which the native sound change of *he-* to *sh-* has taken place. The place-name Shipton appears earlier as Hepeton, Hieptunum, and Hyepton. If the first element is *heopa*, 'briar', as he suggests, we have the following development indicated: *héo* > *hjé* > *çjé* > *ſē* > *ſī*. It should

be noted that some of the names which Mr. Smith uses have no value as evidence of a native sound-change; Shetland and Shapinsey and possibly Shawm Rigg are of O.N. origin.

Various explanations have been given of the appearance, in the London dialect of the fourteenth century, of *i*-forms derived from OE. *ȝ*. Mr. Percy H. Reaney sets out to prove (*Englische Studien*, Aug.) that in documents of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which must be regarded as London documents, *i*-forms are frequent. The documents of which he makes chief use are *The Great Roll of the Pipe* (1158-87), and the *Feet of Fines for Essex*. His first concern is to show that the place-name forms here reveal the London and not the local forms. The *a priori* probabilities are in favour of this since they deal with payments made in London; the view is confirmed by a comparison with forms from documents known to have been written in particular areas. Bedford, for example, is revealed by local documents to have been mainly a *u*-area, but, according to the Pipe Rolls, *i*-forms predominated. Evidently official documents such as these are written in an official dialect—that of London—modified to some extent by local influence. This official dialect shows in the eleventh and twelfth centuries all the varieties of developments from OE. *y* found in the fourteenth century, including the *i*-forms.

Eleventh-century charters indicate that the unrounding of OE. *ȝ* took place in Essex as well as London and Middlesex, probably, as suggested by Miss Serjeantson, during the tenth century. The other important conclusion at which Mr. Reaney arrives is that OE. *ēo* was rounded in Middlesex and Essex, probably in Hertfordshire, and possibly in Kent.

Had Professor Jordan lived to complete his *Handbuch der mitttelenglischen Grammatik*¹⁰ we should have had at last a comprehensive and detailed survey of the English language during the Middle English period, not limited, as are most ME. 'Grammars', to the needs of beginners. As it is, the first part of his book easily takes its place as the authority on ME. phonology. To open it anywhere is to discover sound-

¹⁰ *Handbuch der mitttelenglischen Grammatik* (1. Teil: Lautlehre), by Richard Jordan. Heidelberg: Winter. pp. xvi, 273. 8s. net (bound).

laws clearly set out, abundant evidence produced for them, exceptions noted and discussed, and references to the important scholarly works on the matter. A very comprehensive introduction precedes the discussion of the phonology. In it Professor Jordan defines the boundaries of the ME. dialects as precisely as the present state of knowledge will allow and mentions the important ME. texts belonging to each county; he gives an account of the foreign element in ME., including Celtic, Latin, and Dutch loan-words; he sketches the emergence and nature of the standard dialect and comments on ME. orthography as it appears in MSS.

The account of the language in the fifteenth century, which is given a chapter to itself, is particularly valuable as a summary of many recent theories. It will be noted that Professor Jordan does not consider that there is sufficient evidence to prove that OE. *a* became *æ* or that ME. *u* changed to *ʌ* (*a*) in this century, as conjectured by Zachrisson and Wyld.

This caution is characteristic of the book. It is distinctly conservative in plan; no new method of attack is suggested or developed. Its value lies in its being a very complete and judicious weighing of existing theories on ME. phonology in the light of evidence that has obviously been collected independently and considered with great care.

V

THE RENAISSANCE

[By ARTHUR W. REED]

THE four-hundredth anniversary of the first printing of William Tyndale's Translation of the New Testament has been observed during the year under review, and was the occasion of an admirable leading article in *T. L. S.* (4th June) in which, amongst much else that was good, the problems of the More-Tyndale controversy and the doctrinal consequences of some of Tyndale's renderings found a place. Fifteen years ago Professor Alfred W. Pollard, for the tercentenary of the Authorized Version, published his *Records of the English Bible* and pointed out the permanent qualities of Tyndale's work. 'It fixed the style and tone of the English Bible and supplied not merely the basis of all subsequent Protestant renderings of the books on which he laboured, but their very substance and body, so that these subsequent versions must be looked upon as revisions of his, not as independent translations.' As Mr. Pollard had already set out the documents relevant to Tyndale's Bible, his book has met for a second time most of the needs of a centenary observance. Demaus's biography, however, was out of print, and its reissue in a popular edition, revised by Richard Lovett,¹ has put this recognized authority within the reach of the ordinary student. Reference must be made also to a well-informed article on Tyndale by Mr. Guppy in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* (Jan.).

Among the associates of Tyndale in exile was a small group of Observant Friars which included Alexander Barclay. It is one of the mysteries of early Tudor literary history that Barclay, who was translating the *Ship of Fools* in the closing

¹ *William Tindale: A Biography*, being a contribution to the Early History of the English Bible, by Robert Demaus. Popular Edition, revised by Richard Lovett. R.T.S. pp. 561. 7s. 6d.

years of the reign of Henry VII, and was a fairly busy writer throughout the first quarter of the new century, wrote nothing during the subsequent thirty years of his long life. He appears to have forsaken literature to win a reputation as a preacher, and, according to the Catholic poet William Forrest, as an entertaining character. His association with the more unbending Protestants probably had a short life. To Barclay's later years Fr. Aurelius Pompen's monumental study of the English versions of the *Ship of Fools*² makes no reference; it is the earlier Barclay he is dealing with, busily occupied in the college of Ottery St. Mary on his very free rendering of Brandt's *Narrenschiff* for Richard Pynson. Fr. Pompen's task has been to explore the problems of the relationship of Barclay's version to the German, Latin, and French versions that the translator says he used. But Wynkyn de Worde anticipated Pynson's edition with a prose version by a poor and probably needy dependant named Watson. The prose version, therefore, has also been included in Fr. Pompen's study. Brandt's satire had appeared with its famous woodcuts in 1494. Four years later Bergmann, the Basel printer of the original edition, issued a version much 'humanized' by James Locher (Philomusus), in Latin hexameters in which the Teutonic raciness would have been quite lost but for the retention of the woodcuts. A French version of Locher by Rivière in octosyllables appeared some months later at Paris, and a Lyons printer issued a prose version of Rivière by a needy scribe named Drouyn. These editions, German, Latin, and French, had all appeared, with the illustrations, original or derived, by 1499. It was ten years later that Pynson provided a set of woodcuts for Barclay and published his version. Fr. Pompen has shown (1) that Barclay's indebtedness to the original Brandt is negligible, though there is evidence that he had, as he says, 'oversene the first inuencion in Doche'; (2) that he followed mainly Locher's Latin and Rivière's French. Consequently he claims that Barclay's work exemplifies, not so much the influence of Germany as of France in the English Renaissance. In this, as in his attack on Professor

² *The English Versions of the Ship of Fools: A Contribution to the History of the Early French Renaissance in England*, by Fr. Aurelius Pompen, O.F.M., with 4 plates. Longmans. pp. xiv + 345. 25s. net.

Herford for emphasizing the influence of Brandt's work in his *Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century*, he goes much too far. The woodcuts, at least, remained un-Latinized, their Teutonic spirit of satire never losing more of its sting than was sacrificed by inferior craftsmen. As for de Worde's edition done by the pedestrian Watson, it was based, Fr. Pompen shows, appropriately enough on the similar journeyman work done by Drouyn for the Lyons printer. In closing this short notice we must refer to the appreciative recognition of Barclay's independence and character and the excellent good spirits that mark this important work. Fr. Pompen leaves us in no doubt as to the enjoyment he has won from his labours.

Dr. and Mrs. P. S. Allen, whose *magnum opus*, the *Erasmii Epistolae*, is now reaching its seventh volume, have increased our debt to them by editing, as though to interpose a little ease, a charming collection of the prose writings of Sir Thomas More,³ a gift to English readers the more welcome since, to our shame, nothing of the sort existed later than the seven pages of More given by Dr. Johnson in the matter prefatory to his Dictionary, to illustrate the history of the language. In his introduction Dr. Allen has included Erasmus' *Life* of More from the letter to von Hutten of 1519, and a great part of Roper's *Life*. All More's English prose works are represented and the best of the letters. What is particularly pleasing is that the lighter side of More's wisdom and character is illustrated abundantly and, needless to say, with delightful tact. We are made to feel once more how inseparable these were from the fine inflexibility of More's temper and convictions. If there is anything that one is half inclined to regret it is that Dr. and Mrs. Allen have not followed the example set by Dr. Johnson and included some of More's English verse.

Reference must be made also here to the lecture on *Erasmus' Services to Learning*⁴ read by Dr. Allen before the British Academy on 8th July 1925.

³ *Sir Thomas More: Selections from his English works*, ed. by P. S. and H. M. Allen. O.U.P. pp. xiv+191. 3s. 6d.

⁴ *Erasmus' Services to Learning*, by P. S. Allen. Proceedings of the British Academy. O.U.P. pp. 20. 1s. 6d.

Mr. Ernest Dormer tells us that fourteen years ago Dr. Furnivall set him to work on an inquiry into the life and activities of William Gray,⁵ a controversial ballad-writer and active supporter—with an eye to his own interests—of Cromwell and Somerset. He appears, according to Puttenham, to have written a political version of *The Hunte is up* attacking the Pilgrimage of Grace, as well as the verses known as the *Fantassie of Idolatrie*, which Foxe printed with approval in his *Acts and Monuments*. He acted as an intermediary between Cromwell and Grafton in the business of the printing of the Bible, and after Cromwell's death became engaged in a ballad flyting with Thomas Smith, Clerk of the Council, in which he was alleged to have attacked his former patron. Mr. Dormer deals fully with the rewards in manors and abbey lands near Reading that fell to Gray and with the losses he sustained on the occasion of Somerset's first imprisonment. Mr. Dormer prints Gray's ballads in full as well as his unusual epitaph, which has more than ordinary interest because some stanzas from it are found in Tottel. It is a curious fact that these stanzas were also found on a tomb at Sonning in the church of Gray's manor of Bulmershe.

Among things that puzzle the student of Tudor literature is the distance that separated the practice and the theory of usury. Mr. R. H. Tawney's scholarly introduction to his edition of Thomas Wilson's *Discourse of Usury*⁶ (1572) makes plain what for most of us was confused. One cannot do justice in a paragraph to Mr. Tawney's richly documented introductory essay, in which, it must be noted, he draws freely for his illustrations upon his unusual familiarity with the dramatists. It must suffice to say that it places Wilson's *Discourse* in its right setting as a rather pathetic anachronism in the age of a Gresham. To most of us Wilson is known as the author of the *Art of Logic* and the *Art of Rhetoric*, the works of his early graduate days, written before he was thirty. It is to the first of these

⁵ *Gray of Reading: A sixteenth-century Controversialist and Ballad-Writer*, by Ernest W. Dormer. Reading: Bradley. pp. 158. 15s. 6d. net.

⁶ *A Discourse upon Usury*, by Thomas Wilson. Ed. by R. H. Tawney. Bell. pp. viii + 392. 15s. net.

treatises that we owe our knowledge that it was Nicholas Udall, Wilson's schoolmaster at Eton, who wrote *Roister Doister*; whilst the other, the *Art of Rhetoric*, has given more than one phrase to Tudor prose: 'ynk-horne termes', 'far-fetched colours of straunge antiquitie'. Wilson left Eton for King's, Cambridge, in the year of Udall's dismissal; and the present writer is pleased to think that his discovery of a Udall law-suit has shown that he had not forfeited Wilson's regard. This suit and its bearing on the date of *Roister Doister* are discussed in an article (*R. E. S.*, July) entitled *Nicholas Udall and Thomas Wilson*. Curiously, the suit turns on what appears to be an abuse of the Act of Usury of 1552, an Act of which Mr. Tawney has much to say.

Another work primarily addressed to historians falls to be noticed here, a series of lectures delivered at King's College, London, on the *Social and Political Ideas of some great Thinkers of the Renaissance and Reformation*.⁷ The subjects are Nicolas of Cusa (E. F. Jacob), Sir John Fortescue (Miss A. E. Levett), Machiavelli (F. J. C. Hearnshaw), More (A. W. Reed), Erasmus (J. A. K. Thomson), Luther (J. W. Allen), and Calvin (W. R. Matthews). Particular interest attaches to the first two papers as fifteenth-century studies removed by their date from the more familiar ground covered by those that follow. Reference must also be made to the introductory essay by the Editor on the Renaissance and Reformation.

Mr. C. L. Kingsford's *Prejudice and Promise in Fifteenth-Century England*⁸ is a work of considerable value for the student of literature. The editor of *Fifteenth-Century Prose and Verse*, Professor A. W. Pollard, pointed out in his Introduction more than twenty years ago that no period of literature was ever more wantonly plundered than the fifteenth century

⁷ *Social and Political Ideas of some great Thinkers of the Renaissance and Reformation*, a series of Lectures delivered at King's College, University of London. Ed. by F. J. C. Hearnshaw, with introduction by Ernest Barker, Harrap. pp. viii+215. 7s. 6d.

⁸ *Prejudice and Promise in Fifteenth-Century England*, by C. L. Kingsford. O.U.P. pp. vi+215. 15s. net.

to enrich its prosperous neighbours on either side. The literary historians then placed the English Mandeville nearly fifty years too early and postponed the beginnings of Renaissance drama till they were well on into the sixteenth century; to which century they also referred the industry of translation, which had been in full swing since 1380. Mr. Kingsford finds that the same offence is still being committed, and his Ford Lectures (1923-4) aim at correcting this well-established error. The sources that Shakespeare used, perforce, for his *Histories* are to blame for much of the prejudice that Mr. Kingsford attacks, and his first lecture should be read by Shakespearians. It is of the *promise*, however, rather than the *prejudice* that we look to Mr. Kingsford for evidences. The first extant letter written in English by one Englishman to another belongs, he tells us, to the year 1392; the next to 1400; and the oldest connected series of letters preserved passed between Henry V and the City of London, whilst a soldier wrote home from France in 1419 praying that 'they may come soon out of this unlusty soldier's life into the life of England'. This was the century that witnessed the rise of English letter-writing; and the *Paston Letters*, though a happy survival, are not unique. It was an age of educational progress, marked by the foundation of schools, of which Eton is only the most famous in a large number. Books and their owners, literary bequests and the foundation of libraries are among the other subjects touched upon in the lecture entitled *English Letters and the Intellectual Ferment*. The remaining lectures, on 'Social Life', 'London in the Fifteenth Century', and, in its own way, 'West-country Piracy', all speak of the promise of the century. Mr. Kingsford makes a powerful plea for the recognition of the virtues of Suffolk, 'one of the finest types of the old chivalry, and through his intellectual sympathies a forerunner of the new order'.

If to Mr. Kingsford the fifteenth century is an age of promise, to Professor Huizinga⁹ it is a time of waning and dying. His important study of the art, the thought, and life of France and the Netherlands in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,

⁹ *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, by J. Huizinga. Arnold. pp. vi + 328. 16s.

appropriately named the *Waning of the Middle Ages*, is rich in material of value for the literary historian, his aim being to bring us face to face with the habits of mind of an age that has passed. These he explores in literature, in art, in costume, entertainments, and the affairs and business of peace and war among all classes of men, lay and religious, until he has impressed upon us a vivid conception of the thought and manners of the time. It was an age of violence, and its religious idealism tended to be morbid. Moralities became the vogue, the *Dance of Death* a popular book, and the chantry tombs of great prelates showed a cadaver in the recess below the robed effigy. Popular religious thought had crystallized into fables and images; yet it was an age of religious mysticism. Dr. Huizinga's book helps us to appreciate the eagerness with which in the next century von Hutten could write 'O Saeculum, O Literae! iuvat vivere!'

As the work of yet another historian, Mr. K. B. McFarlane's Stanhope essay on *Cardinal Pole*¹⁰ may be mentioned here. It fills a gap that students of Tudor literature have often felt. Phillips's *Life* (1764) and the five volumes of Pole's correspondence are not very accessible, and it is a considerable convenience to have Mr. McFarlane's well-documented and sympathetic monograph within reach.

The interest excited by the recovery of the 'lost' Medwall play, *Fulgens and Lucres*, is making itself felt in many directions. The study contributed by Dr. Hans Hecht of Göttingen to *Anglica (Palaestra)*, 148) is the best evidence that has appeared so far that the importance of Medwall's play is recognized on the Continent. The present writer has reason to be gratified by Dr. Hecht's acknowledgement of the contributions he has made at various times since 1919 to the subject of Medwall and the sources of his play. Dr. Hecht supports the rejection as a forgery of Payne Collier's circumstantial anecdote about Medwall's supposed dullness, and with it the claim of Dr. Wallace that William Cornyshe was the founder of the new drama. He gives an account of Bonaccorso

¹⁰ *Cardinal Pole*, the Stanhope Prize Essay, 1924, by K. B. McFarlane, Blackwell. pp. vii + 51. 3s. 6d.

and his treatise, *De Vera Nobilitate*, as well as of its various translators, including Sixt Birck, the Augsburg schoolmaster. He analyses the play and emphasizes the importance of its anticipations of the dramatic technique of the later Tudor dramatists. As an appendix he prints Caxton's *proheme*, links and epilogue. Dr. Hecht's able study will have the effect of increasing still further the appreciation of Medwall's standing as an English dramatist.

Louise Labé's *Debate between Folly and Cupid*,¹¹ a delightful French trifle not well known in England, has been translated by Dr. E. Marion Cox and published in a form appropriately select. The debate is a pretty example of a semi-dramatic type of light writing that flourished in Tudor days in courtly circles. It is the kind of thing round which a masque or complimentary entertainment might be devised like that, described by Hall the chronicler, in 1528 at Greenwich when Rastell's *Love and Riches* was produced. As the texts of these debates have seldom survived, one is glad to have so good an example to turn to as this that Dr. Cox has given us. The original is the work of a writer who was one of the most brilliant figures in sixteenth-century society in Lyons.

In order to formulate conclusions as to what constitutes successful comedy, Mr. John B. Moore has adopted the effective method of tracing the comic elements in English drama from the beginnings to 1600.¹² The result is a work rich in illustrative material that has not before been made accessible within the compass of a single volume. For that reason Mr. Moore's book should become familiar to students of the drama. As a corollary he reduces his results to four rules for the guidance of writers ambitious to become comic dramatists; but we find his maxims less illuminating than his illustrations. If the Shakespearian years are more slightly dealt with, as almost necessarily they had to be, there are few omissions of importance in the earlier periods. One

¹¹ *A Debate between Folly and Cupid*, by Louise Labé; done into English by E. Marion Cox. Williams & Norgate. pp. xxix + 87. 20s.

¹² *The Comic and the Realistic in English Drama*, by John B. Moore. University of Chicago Press. pp. viii + 231. \$2.00.

would have liked, however, to see some reference to Medwall's two comedies. In this omission, as also in his treatment of Heywood, Mr. Moore has not quite moved with the times. Some readers will wish that he had not teased them with such a sentence as 'He is enough cleverer than Mak so that he makes a clear get-away in his thieving'; and they will wonder why the writer of a critical work allowed it to pass in one of the publications of a University Press. Possibly it represents a distance in our idioms that one has to recognize.

Dr. T. K. Whipple in his *Martial and the English Epigram*¹³ has handled a difficult subject with considerable skill and made good use of the somewhat miscellaneous material that he has had to take into account. By insisting on the distinctive work of Martial as his norm and standard he has been able to survey the experimental work of the Renaissance epigrammatists without being led into the bypaths of proverb and adage or troubled by our ambiguous uses of the word epigram itself. He finds the sources of the English epigram not only in Martial and the Greek Anthology or its derivatives, but also in the miscellaneous body of medieval distichs, sentences, and exempla, gnomic or facetious; whilst for the distribution of these various influences he notes the importance of Renaissance Latin verse. For Dr. Whipple, however, the epigram in the end means a poem of the kind that Martial wrote. *The One and Thirty Epigrams* of Crowley and the *Epigrams* of Heywood were medieval rather than classical; he begins therefore with Wyatt and his followers. In his note on Grimald's sources he appears to have anticipated Hudson, and he has some valuable references to Turberville's indebtedness to More. The first or tentative period he closes with an examination of the work of Timothy Kendall in 1577. The English epigram proper he associates with the anti-Elizabethan reaction and the names of Sir John Davies, Harington, Guilpin, Bastard, and Weever: it culminates in the work of Ben Jonson. In a sense, as Dr. Whipple asserts, Jonson was

¹³ *Martial and the English Epigram from Sir Thomas Wyatt to Ben Jonson*, by T. K. Whipple. Berkeley: University of California Publications in Modern Philology: vol. x, No. 4, pp. 279-414. \$ 1.75.

its true founder. He despised the anecdotes, proverbs, and character-sketches, and reverted to 'the old way and the true', the way of Martial. In a word, Jonson marks the end of the non-classical influence of Heywood, though it persisted in Herrick to trouble some of his modern admirers.

Those who are interested in Renaissance educational ideas will find in Miss Edith Rowland's *Pedagogue's Commonplace Book*¹⁴ an anthology much to their liking. It is a book of quaint wisdom, many useful precepts, and pleasant trifles. Among many other things one may learn in verse how to make ink, cut a pen, or slope one's writing:

Like standing corn blown gently by the wind
Let all your letters be one way inclin'd.

Among workers in the field of bibliography few have done spade-work more valuable than Mr. H. R. Plomer. His knowledge of our archives, his persistent zeal, and his flair for the detection of clues have done much to add to our knowledge of early printers and book-sellers. In his recent works on *William Caxton*¹⁵ and *Wynkyn de Worde*¹⁶ he is moving in a field familiar to him. He does not claim to have added anything of importance to the biography of the first English printer, but he has found some new references to the Caxtons of Kent, and has discovered that Caxton himself made an assignment of his property to trustees during his short return to England from Bruges in 1453. This he associates, probably rightly, with litigation that Caxton had been involved in as the result of undertaking a suretyship abroad. In carrying the story of English printing from Caxton to 1535, Mr. Plomer is on ground that he himself has done much to explore, but he is keenly alive to the importance of the original work of others and has a critical knowledge of its significance and worth.

¹⁴ *A Pedagogue's Commonplace Book*: sought out and arranged by Edith Rowland. Dent. pp. x + 246. 5s. net.

¹⁵ *William Caxton*, by H. R. Plomer. Parsons. pp. 195. 4s. 6d. net.

¹⁶ *Wynkyn de Worde and his Contemporaries from the Death of Caxton to 1535*, by H. R. Plomer. Grafton. pp. 264. 21s. net.

Among the articles that have appeared in *The Library* during the year we notice, as being of particular interest here, that on Matthew Parker (Dec.) by the Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (Dr. E. C. Pearce). A systematic searcher for literary treasures and the founder of the famous collection of MSS. at Corpus, it was entirely appropriate that Archbishop Parker's memory should be honoured by the Bibliographical Society in the 350th anniversary year of his death. It is satisfactory to know that of the 433 MSS. handed over by Parker's son all remain to this day. The binding character of the penalties imposed by Parker, the annual audit on his birthday, and, perhaps not least, the three locks and their three distributed keys, have been effective in keeping the bequest intact. Another article (Dec. 1924) by the editor, Mr. A. W. Pollard, describes the building up of the British Museum collection of Incunabula. It is of real value to have the considered judgement of the late Keeper of the Printed Books upon the wealth, variety, and character of the collection of fifteenth-century works that he had under his care. It is interesting, too, to know how much the Museum owes to private benefactions as against its own purchases. Mr. Pollard's story of the bequests from Cracherode's time in 1799 to Huth's is an inspiring one; but more inspiring still is the influence of the *Index* of his former colleague, Robert Proctor, since it is largely due to its publication that there have been added since 1898 some 1,500 incunables to the Museum, mainly by purchase.

A letter (*T. L. S.*, 10th Sept.) by Miss K. W. Dean gave a list of seven works known to have been in the possession of Miles Blomefield of Bury St. Edmunds, alchemist. As these included three plays, the *Conversion of St. Paul*, *Mary Magdalene*, and the unique *Fulgens and Lucres*, her inquiry is of particular interest. On 5th November Mr. R. W. Green-Armytage added, as in his possession, a *Horae Beatae Virginis* with important marginal notes; whilst an earlier correspondent (9th Oct.) mentions a controversial work by John Whitgift printed in 1572.

Miss Eveline L. Feasey, whose article on the *Mirror for Magistrates* was noticed in *The Year's Work* (vol. iii, pp. 54-5), has followed it up with the study of William Baldwin. Editor

of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, an Oxford man, a protégé of the printer Whitchurch, a friend of Jasper Heywood's and one of his set, a deviser of dramatic entertainments and a writer of some note, Baldwin was a man of interest in his day, and his versatility lends an added interest to Miss Feasey's story of his activities (*M. L. R.*, Oct.).

The degree of acceptance that Miss E. H. Waller's *A Possible Interpretation of 'The Misfortunes of Arthur'* (*J. E. G. P.*, April) will meet with will depend on one's attitude towards the allegorical interpretation of Elizabethan plays adopted by Miss Winstanley and others. Here Arthur, Guenevere, and Mordred stand for James, Mary, and Bothwell. There is of course no reason to suppose that the dramatists were incapable of the kind of allusiveness that Miss Waller detects in *The Misfortunes of Arthur*. In any case it moves us less in such a play than when we are asked to observe it in *Othello*.

In closing this section of *The Year's Work* the present writer cannot but refer to the loss sustained by American scholarship in the premature death of Thornton Shirley Graves, one of the most distinguished of its younger representatives. He had won general recognition by his contributions to dramatic history, by the accuracy of his scholarship, and by his knowledge and sound judgement of the work of his contemporaries. The annual bibliography for which he made himself responsible, entitled *Recent Literature of the English Renaissance*, has appeared regularly in the month of April since 1922 (*S. in Ph.* xix-xxii), and is recognized to be the best thing done of its kind for English literature. The last of Graves's bibliographies appeared posthumously in the year now under review. We are glad to know that his friend, Professor Hardin Craig, has undertaken to continue this important publication.

VI

SHAKESPEARE

[BY E. K. CHAMBERS]

It is impossible to begin this survey without a word of regret for the loss of the distinguished scholar who for several years handled its theme. The new edition of Sir Sidney Lee's *Life of William Shakespeare* becomes of melancholy interest; it is some consolation that it preserves the last words of its author on his favourite topic. The tyranny of the stereotype has made any substantial revision impossible on this occasion. But a few corrections and new bibliographical references appear in the text, and in a short preface Sir Sidney comments upon contributions to Shakespearian study since his edition of 1922, which seem to him of importance. In particular, he reasserts his scepticism as to the presence of Shakespeare's hand in *Sir Thomas More*, in which he has been confirmed by the studies of Professor Schücking and Dr. Tannenbaum referred to below.¹ The short bibliography for advanced students called *A Shakespeare Reference Library*, originally compiled by Sir Sidney in 1910 for the English Association, has been brought up to date by the present writer and reissued.²

Of minor surveys, which are perhaps becoming too numerous, the most interesting is Mr. Cowling's competent and well-written *Preface to Shakespeare*.³ The late Professor Alden was a ripe student, and his death also is a blow to scholarship. His *Shakespeare Handbook*⁴ is a book for beginners; it devotes a quite disproportionate amount of space to Shakespeare's 'source

¹ *A Life of William Shakespeare*, by Sir Sidney Lee. Fourth edition of the revised version (rewritten and enlarged). Murray. pp. xlviii+776. 15s. net.

² *A Shakespeare Reference Library*, by Sir Sidney Lee and Sir Edmund Chambers. Second edition. English Association (Pamphlet 61). O.U.P. pp. 16. 1s. net to Members.

³ *A Preface to Shakespeare*, by G. H. Cowling. Methuen. pp. 164. 5s.

⁴ *A Shakespeare Handbook*, by R. M. Alden. New York: Crofts. pp. xvi + 240.

material'; and it is a pity that it uses once more Fleay's early and inaccurate statistics upon metre, which Fleay himself improved. Mr. Crump's *Guide to Shakespeare's Plays*⁵ is intended to give help for courses of Shakespeare reading in Secondary Schools. The present writer has not seen Dr. Bab's *Shakespeare: Wesen und Werke*.⁶

Only accident or very systematic research in neglected archives can now be expected to make any serious contribution to our knowledge of the external facts of Shakespeare's life. Dr. A. Guthmann, in *Shakespeares Krankheit und Tod* (*Jahrbuch*, Bd. 61), attributes his early retirement and death to drinking and smoking habits, leading to arterio-sclerosis. Professor Tucker Brooke has studied with care (*M. L. N.* xl. 462) the documents concerning *Shakespeare's Moiety of the Stratford Tithes*, corrects errors in some current accounts of the matter, and arrives at the conclusion that the undated Chancery complaint of the poet and his fellow tithe-owners is to be placed in the first three months of 1609. The valuable notices of Shakespearian documents compiled by Mr. Wellstood for the *Catalogue* of the exhibits in Shakespeare's birthplace are not perhaps so well known as they might be. Many papers quoted by Halliwell-Phillipps with inadequate references are there carefully calendared; and the new edition of the *Catalogue* is welcome.⁷

More, of course, is still to be done in illuminating the environment, spiritual and material, in which Shakespeare worked; and here the comprehensive survey of *Shakespeare's England* leaves room for and facilitates individual studies of value. A notable one is the *Topographical Dictionary* of Dr. Sugden, which may be welcomed with additional pleasure as a substantial contribution to learning from one of the Dominions. The articles are full, logically arranged, and well referenced, and

⁵ *A Guide to the Study of Shakespeare's Plays*, by G. H. Crump. Harrap. pp. 203. 2s. net.

⁶ *Shakespeare: Wesen und Werke*, von J. Bab. Stuttgart. Union-Verlag. 8 M.

⁷ *Catalogue of the Books, Manuscripts, Works of Art, Antiquities, and Relics Exhibited in Shakespeare's Birthplace*, by F. C. Wellstood. Birthplace Trustees, Stratford-upon-Avon. pp. 176. 1s. net.

Dr. Sugden's net is wide enough to include not only Shakespeare and his fellow dramatists, but also Milton; and not only all the place-names used by these, but also localities connected with the history of the drama and the lives of the dramatists.⁸ The topography of Stratford is illustrated by some useful architectural notes in Mr. Forrest's *Old Houses of Stratford upon Avon*.⁹ Mr. O. F. Emerson, in *Shakespearian and Other Feasts* (*S. in Ph.* xxii. 161), explains 'great nature's second course' in *Macbeth*, II. ii. 39 by the Elizabethan habit of prefacing the main dinner course of roast meat with a slighter one of boiled meat, and expands into an elaborate disquisition on the meals of our ancestors through several centuries.

Mr. Taylor handles a well-worked subject in *Shakspeare's Debt to Montaigne*,¹⁰ but he is able to give it a fresh and on the whole fairly convincing treatment. He employs a large number of parallels, of which those involving the more conspicuous and evidential similarities of thought and expression are set out in the body of the treatise. Some, more slight, are relegated to an appendix, and other appendices contain long lists of words and phrases common to Shakespeare and Florio's *Montaigne*, but not used by Shakespeare before the issue of that translation in 1603. So far as this subsidiary collection is concerned, the argument of course rests upon quantity rather than quality. Individually, the resemblances might, in Professor Raleigh's words, spring from the natural kinship of questioning minds; in bulk they are impressive. Mr. Taylor makes a statistical analysis, which suggests that the Montaigne influence was greatest in *Hamlet*, *Lear*, and *Troilus and Cressida*, and recurs later, perhaps as a result of a fresh reading, in *The Tempest*. It is, however, strong also in *Lear*, which Mr. Taylor can hardly be right in grouping chronologically with *Hamlet* and *Troilus*. Nor is it clear that Shakespeare had not worked

⁸ *A Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare and his Fellow Dramatists*, by E. H. Sugden, Master of Queen's College, Melbourne. Manchester Univ. Press. pp. xix + 580. £3. 3s. net.

⁹ *The Old Houses of Stratford upon Avon*, by H. E. Forrest. Methuen. 7s. 6d. net.

¹⁰ *Shakspeare's Debt to Montaigne*, by G. C. Taylor. O.U.P. for Harvard Univ. Press. pp. vi + 66. 7s. 6d. net.

on *Hamlet* and possibly *Troilus* before Florio's book appeared. A final passage discusses the possible relations between Shakespeare's study of Montaigne and the apparent developments in his attitude towards life during middle age. Altogether, this is a valuable and sanely written little book. Mr. O. J. Campbell examines the relations of Shakespeare to Italian comedy in two of the *Michigan Studies*.¹¹ In '*Love's Labour's Lost*' *Re-studied* he accepts as the historic basis of the play the visit of Marguerite of Valois to Nérac in 1578, and supposes Shakespeare to have drawn on the memories of some English gentleman who had travelled to the Navarrese court. He regards *L. L. L.* as a play written for courtiers and performed by boys, and elaborately traces the lineaments of some of the standing figures of the *commedia dell'arte* in the personages who furnish its clowning. He is rightly sceptical of the attempts to identify a portrait in Holofernes, a very typical pedant or *dottore*. In '*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*' and *Italian Comedy* he finds analogues in devices of the *commedia* to those elements in the plot of *T. G.* which do not come from Montemayor's tale of Felix and Felismena, and thinks that Shakespeare may have found these already combined with the minor theme in the lost *Felix and Philomena*, given by the Queen's men at court in 1585. Mme Longworth-Chambrun, in *Shakespeare et le Maroc* (*Revue de Paris*, xxxii. 3. 833), traces in considerable detail the commercial and political relations between England and Barbary, and suggests that popular interest in these gave a topical point to the figures of Othello, Aaron, and the Moorish suitor of Portia. The same writer discusses *Influences françaises dans la Tempête de Shakespeare* (*Revue de Littérature Comparée*, January). Signor A. Benedetti deals with *La Sicilia del Teatro di Shakespeare* (*Archivio Storico Siciliano*, xlv).

Many students are still preoccupied with the relation of the extant texts of the plays to Shakespeare's script, and with the closely connected problem of the 'Addition' to *Sir Thomas More*. Two notable contributions are due to Dr. S. A. Tannenbaum of

¹¹ *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton and Donne*, by members of the English Department of the University of Michigan. New York: Macmillan. pp. vi + 232.

New York. The first is *Shakspeare's Unquestioned Autographs and the Addition to 'Sir Thomas Moore'* (*S. in Ph.* xxii. 133). After a preliminary excursus on the science of 'bibliotics', Dr. Tannenbaum subjects the theories of Sir E. M. Thompson to a close analysis. He does not think that Shakespeare's signatures bear evidence of writer's cramp, or that writer's cramp alters writing habits, as distinct from the success with which they are executed. He calls attention to the very slight basis which exists for comparison. Only two words—'By' and 'me'—are common to the signatures and the *More* script, and a man's signatures normally have features differentiating them from his ordinary hand. He then takes Sir E. M. Thompson's points of identity one by one, and finds the strongest case in the 'spurred a' and the 'k'. But against these he puts a number of fresh points, based upon the general style and flow of the hands, as well as upon the formation and linking of individual letters, and concludes that the final balance of evidence is 'overwhelmingly' against identity. It seems to one who is no palaeographer that this closely argued criticism requires an answer from Sir E. M. Thompson or from some competent expert who adopts his views. The paper is illustrated by a number of facsimiles, some of which have the advantage of being magnified to two or three degrees. Dr. Tannenbaum's second paper, on *Reclaiming one of Shakspeare's Signatures* (*S. in Ph.* xxii. 392), is an equally careful vindication of the 'Montaigne' signature in the British Museum, which was accepted by Madden, but which Sir E. M. Thompson and others regard as unauthentic. It is good news that Dr. Tannenbaum has in preparation a more comprehensive work on *Shakspeare's Autographs, Genuine and Questioned*. The scripts have also given rise to a debate (*T. L. S.*, 15th, 22nd, 29th Jan.) between Sir George Greenwood, Mr. J. A. Fort, and Mr. H. D. Simpson on the Elizabethan practice in signing wills, and to another (*T. L. S.*, 22nd Oct., 12th Nov.) between Dr. Tannenbaum and Sir George Greenwood on the 'spurred a'.

Other aspects of *Sir Thomas More* have also received consideration. Sir Sidney Lee attached importance to Professor L. L. Schücking's *Shakespeare and 'Sir Thomas More'* (*R. E. S.* i. 40). This is an answer to the argument for Shakespeare's authorship

based by Professor R. W. Chambers on the political ideas expressed in the 'Addition'. Professor Schücking depreciates the forces of the parallelism with similar ideas expressed by Shakespeare, finds the vocabulary of the disputed lines un-Shakesperian, and does not think that the poet would have written a speech so little calculated to move an angry mob as that of More. He claims that the play should be grouped with those written at the end of the sixteenth century on the analogous themes of *Wolsey* and *Cromwell*, but abandons the date of 1604-5, to which he formerly assigned it, in favour of 1601-2, and stresses the parallels with *Julius Caesar*, *Hamlet*, and *2 Henry IV*. Finally, adopting a second choice by Mr. Pollard, he assigns the authorship to Heywood, who is rapidly becoming the residuary legatee for all Elizabethan *adespota*. The present writer is perhaps less strongly impressed by the case made against Shakespeare than was Sir Sidney Lee. Mr. G. B. Harrison in *The Date of 'Sir Thomas More'* (*R. E. S.* i. 337) thinks that the proportion of internal stops in More's speech is too high for early work by Shakespeare. But Mr. Pollard in *Verse Tests and the Date of 'Sir Thomas More'* (*R. E. S.* i. 441) shows equally high proportions in speeches of *The Merchant of Venice*, and adds the sane comment that such tests are valueless as applied to isolated speeches.

There is much solid erudition in Professor Kellner's *Restoring Shakespeare*,¹² which valuably confirms and supplements Dr. Wilson's work on Shakespeare's spellings and misprints in Shakespearian texts. Here is an analysis, letter by letter, of the various types of observed letter-substitution, minim for minim, long-head for long-head, long-tail for long-tail, and so on. Under each variety, Professor Kellner lists, firstly examples in which a comparison with other texts affords documentary evidence of a misprint, secondly examples in which emendations implying a similar misprint have been generally accepted, thirdly analogous emendations which the Professor himself proposes to make. A similar treatment is given to other causes of misprint, wrong extensions of

¹² *Restoring Shakespeare: A Critical Analysis of the Misreadings in Shakespeare's Works*, by L. Kellner. Allen & Unwin. pp. xvi + 216. 10s. 6d. net.

abbreviations, wrong divisions of words, transpositions of letters, words, and sentences, superfluous repetitions (dittography) failures to repeat (aplography), anticipations and substitutions due to subconscious mental association. Like Dr. Wilson, Professor Kellner finds the main origin of misprints in the nature of the 'copy' rather than in such causes as 'foul case', or want of manipulative dexterity, or any process of dictation in the printing-house, although the examples he gives suggest that the inattention or imperfect memory of the compositor also played a not inconsiderable part. Naturally, therefore, he is led to examine the characteristics of Elizabethan handwriting, and an appendix contains many dated specimens of letter-forms. A weakness of the book is its failure to make sufficient distinction between the problems presented by the 'surreptitious' and possibly 'reported' texts, and those which must be supposed, at least ultimately, to derive from an author's script. And it must be added that, while all respect is due to the learning with which Professor Kellner has marshalled his facts, extraordinarily few of the new emendations, to which he attempts to apply them, can carry any conviction. The keenest pruning tools are the most dangerous when you do not know how a tree should be shaped; and Professor Kellner is evidently incapable, racially or temperamentally, of appreciating the finer shades of Shakespearian speech. Most of his assaults are upon passages which to an English mind require no emendation at all. He, on his side, considers that Englishmen are hypnotized by their familiarity with the text into not seeing when it is nonsense. Well, here is an example (*M. V.* iv. i. 47):

Some men there are love not a gaping pig;
 Some, that are mad if they behold a cat;
 And others, when the bagpipe sings i' the nose,
 Cannot contain their urine:

And then:

As there is no firm reason to be render'd,
 Why he cannot abide a gaping pig;
 Why he, a harmless necessary cat;
 Why he, a woollen bagpipe; but of force
 Must yield to such inevitable shame
 As to offend, himself being offended.

And here the Professor observes, 'Commentators and translators pass by the word *shame* as if it were the most natural thing in the world in this context. I confess that I can make nothing of it, and am inclined to read *shove*, i. e. push, spring of action'. A useful book, but certainly one to be used with great discretion.

Dr. B. A. P. van Dam in *Textual Criticism of Shakespeare's Plays* (*English Studies*, v. 97) tilts at many of Dr. Wilson's emendations in the new Cambridge Shakespeare. He is himself a hardened emender, with small respect for the authority of the prints, especially as regards contractions, where that runs counter to his own theories as to the blank verse which Shakespeare meant to write. He ascribes more corruption to the compositor and less to the 'copy' than does Dr. Wilson, and thinks, moreover, that many irregularities have got into the texts as a result of playhouse sophistications. But it is not necessary to go all the way with his doctrines in order to find suggestive matter in this paper.

Mr. Allison Gaw writes an interesting paper (*P. M. L. A.* xl. 530) on *Actors' Names in Basic Shakespearean Texts: With Special References to 'Romeo and Juliet' and 'Much Ado'*. These intrusive names have always been a puzzle. They are generally attributed to the book-keeper, but it is not easy to see why he inserted them so sporadically. Nor can the answer be that the printers have cleared most of them away, since they are equally sporadic in those manuscripts in which they occur. Mr. Gaw collects the Shakespearian examples; incidentally he is probably right in rejecting the view of *The Elizabethan Stage* that Harvey and Rossill in *1 Henry IV* are actors' names. He thinks that, while the book-keeper is probably responsible for Tawyer in *M. N. D.* and Jack Wilson in *Much Ado*, since these are Folio additions connected with bits of musical enrichment, the rest are due to Shakespeare himself. They are names of original actors in plays written before 'publication on a rather large scale would naturally cause Shakespeare involuntarily to assume a somewhat more literary attitude towards his manuscript'. And they are mostly names of minor actors in minor parts. Mr. Gaw suggests that these began as anonymous parts, and that, as they grew on Shakespeare, they became associated in his mind with the features of some member of the company, and he jotted down the names of that actor. Thus the 'cadaverous

hard-featured personality' of Sincklo was eminently appropriate to the beadle in *2 Hen. IV*. It is rather rough on Sincklo, whose portrait has not come down to us. This explanation is not quite applicable to *R. J.*, since Will Kempe, whose name appears for Peter, was a leading actor, or to *Much Ado*, where, moreover, some Constable must always have been an important structural element in the plot. And so Mr. Gaw has to add epicycles to his theory. In *R. J.* Shakespeare, in preparing his copy, had allowed himself to use Peter for the names of two, and indeed three, distinct servants; Capulet's factotum in iv. iv, the Nurse's man in ii. iv, and Romeo's attendant, who was really Balthazar, in v. iii. The confusion in iv. iv was pointed out to him, and he directed the book-keeper to indicate which part was meant there by putting the name of the actor in a stage-direction. It must, however, be very doubtful whether the Nurse's 'man' was really meant to be distinct from Capulet's other servant. As to *Much Ado*, Mr. Gaw involves himself in elaborate conjectures as to a revision of the Constable scenes, entailing the addition of Verges to iv. ii at a late stage, as a Headborough beside a pre-existing Constable. And then 'the names of the two actors, Kempe and Cowley, were inserted by Shakespeare in an attempt to differentiate the two characters clearly and briefly'. The only general conclusion which seems to result from this discussion is that, so far as the causes for the anomaly under consideration are traceable at all, they were different in different plays. It is interesting to note that Mr. Gaw regards generic names as getting replaced by specific ones in Shakespeare's mind, whereas Dr. Wilson thinks that he used generic names because he could not remember the specific names he had already given. Mr. Gaw's psychology appears to be the better of the two. He supplements this paper by another on *John Sincklo as one of Shakespeare's Actors* (*Anglia*, xlix. 289), in which he suggests that Sincklo of the cadaverous physique may also have been cast for the Apothecary in *R. J.* and Starveling in *M. N. D.*

Mr. C. M. Haines in *The Law of Re-Entry in Shakespeare* (*R. E. S.* i. 449) argues that Shakespeare normally follows the convention that the same personages do not appear on the stage at the end of one scene and the beginning of the next. Mr. F. P. Wilson in *The Jagards and the First Folio of*

Shakespeare (T. L. S., 5th, 12th Nov.) notes that F₁ is recorded in two of John Bill's catalogues of English books on sale at the half-yearly Frankfort fairs. These profess to contain, respectively, books published between April and October 1622 and between October 1623 and April 1624. The explanation suggested is that publication was intended in 1622, but delayed owing to difficulties in the printing-house. An exceptionally incompetent article by Mr. W. Thompson on *Shakespeare's Handwriting* (*Quarterly Review*, ccxliii. 209) endeavours to ascribe the scribbles on the Northumberland Manuscript to the poet, and is sufficiently answered in the last addition to Sir George Greenwood's series of pamphlets.¹³ Miss M. St. C. Byrne's *Elizabethan Handwriting for Beginners* (R. E. S. i. 198) is a useful introduction to the subject. Mr. C. C. Fries (*Michigan Studies*) criticizes the 'elocutionary' theory of *Shakespearian Punctuation*.

There have been several studies of individual plays, some of which bear upon the general problems. In a third part of *The Shakespeare Canon*¹⁴ Mr. J. M. Robertson resumes his devastating progress. After a preliminary dissertation on the demerits of Dr. Herford and the present writer, two more swathes fall. One is *All's Well that Ends Well*, the other *Romeo and Juliet*. The method followed is by now familiar, and only the results need be indicated. Unfortunately Mr. Robertson, in spite of his claim to scientific method, has not the scientific gift of summarizing his conclusions and their limitations with clarity. They have largely to be pieced together from a running discussion. In *All's Well* he finds Greene and Chapman and Shakespeare, and apparently more of Chapman than of either Shakespeare or Greene. It is not equally clear what the relations between the work of the three men are supposed to have been. Apparently Greene was responsible for a 'draft' (p. 34) or 'groundwork' (p. 90). It is true that Greene's participation is stated to be 'an unproved hypothesis' (p. 44), and Mr. Robertson does no more to support it. He does not, however, abandon it (p. 90).

¹³ *Shakespeare's Writing and the Northumberland Manuscript*, by Sir George Greenwood. Watts. pp. 31. 1s. net.

¹⁴ *The Shakespeare Canon, Part iii*, by J. M. Robertson. Routledge. pp. xv + 206. 12s. 6d. net.

'Draft' is an ambiguous term. To the administrative mind it suggests something put forward for further consideration before it is acted upon. Probably Mr. Robertson uses it in the sense of a first acting version. In any case, we are to recognize in the great bulk of the play as it stands 'the style, dramatic methods, diction, phraseology, ideas, vocabulary and versification' of Chapman (p. 90). There has been a 'slight' Shakespearian revision (p. 31). This was apparently a rehandling of Chapman's work before it became in its turn an acting version. But it is not easy to reconcile the general theory with a suggestion (p. 37) that 'an early form of the play' may be the *Love's Labour Won* of Meres's list in 1598, since Mr. Robertson usually treats Shakespeare as having some hand in all the plays of this list. The treatment of *Romeo and Juliet* is probably vitiated by the erroneous belief, bibliographically, that Q_1 is not a 'reported' or 'piratical' but merely a 'curtailed' text of a version earlier than that of Q_2 (p. 136). There have been three versions; (a) a play of about 1562, known to Brooke; (b) a version, underlying Q_1 and the German translation, due to Peele, with help from Marlowe and probably Greene, and revision by Kyd and Shakespeare; (c) Q_2 , a further revision by Kyd and Shakespeare and perhaps another. Shakespeare did 'far more, alike of revision and of fresh writing, than he did in *Titus*'.

Mr. E. P. Kuhl in *The Authorship of 'The Taming of the Shrew'* (*P. M. L. A.* xl. 51) makes the best case for the Shakespearian homogeneity of the play that has yet been put forward. He has an easy victory, one by one, over most of the formal tests that have been regarded as discriminating between the styles of the Petruchio and the Tranio scenes. Perhaps he does not give full value to their collective bearing, and is in his turn inclined to strain rather slight points in favour of unity. At any rate even this solid and well-reasoned discussion does not wholly remove the difficulty which one not normally disposed to 'chorizontic' theories feels in accepting the two sets of scenes, when read side by side, as coming from the same hand at the same date. No doubt this is a matter of general impression, and general impressions, if not followed discreetly, may easily land one in the Robertsonian morass. But the impression does recur whenever Tranio enters. On reflection,

it may be suggested that Mr. Kuhl's demonstration appears more convincing than it really is, because it is directed against a somewhat extreme estimate of the extent of the 'disputed' work. He might with advantage reconsider it, in the light of a very much more modest claim for the second hand, which would exclude practically all the passages in which Petruchio appears, and in particular the earlier part of I. ii, up to the entry of Tranio, which Mr. Kuhl is quite right in regarding as an important contribution to the portrait of Petruchio. With this might go the closing sections of v. i and v. ii, although Mr. Kuhl's estimate of the merit of these is overstated.

Mr. R. P. Cowl in *Some Literary Allusions in Henry the Fourth* (T. L. S., March 26) makes an interesting collection of passages which he supposes to be parodied in the burlesques of the two parts of *Hen. IV.* Some of these are rather remote in point of time, and, generally speaking, it is safer to regard the satire as directed against a bombastic literary tradition, rather than against particular examples of it. Such 'play-tags' probably passed pretty freely from hand to hand. But the suggested allusions to *The Pedlar's Prophecy*, printed in 1595, and to Chapman's *Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, produced in 1596, are plausible, and the latter, as Mr. Cowl points out, would give 1596 as the earliest date for 1 *Hen. IV.* A second paper by Mr. Cowl on *Echoes of Henry IV in Elizabethan Drama* (T. L. S., Oct. 22) contains a large collection of passages in later plays the phrasing of which he thinks is influenced by Shakespeare's. The earliest of these is from Dekker's *Old Fortunatus* of 1599, and this leads Mr. Cowl to suppose that 2 *Hen. IV* had just been revised.

Dr. A. Eichler has discussed the staging and other features in *The Tempest* and *Midsummer Night's Dream* which suggest performance at court in two related papers on *Shakespeare's 'The Tempest' als Hofaufführung* and *Das Hofbühnenmässige in Shakespeare's 'Midsummer Night's Dream'*¹⁵ (*Sh.-Jahrbuch*, lxi. 39). M. Paul Reyher in *The Date of 'Cymbeline'* (*Revue Anglo-Américaine*, June) assigns the play to the end of 1610, as echoing in the relations of Posthumus and Imogen those

¹⁵ In *Neusprachliche Studien, Festgabe für K. Luick* (*Die Neueren Sprachen*, 6. Beiheft). See above, p. 32.

of William Seymour and Arabella Stuart, which had led to their imprisonment in July of that year. But, in so far as there is an analogy, it would rather point to a date before 1610, since a discreet writer for the King's men is not likely to have risked so dangerous a political allusion. Mr. W. A. Bullock refutes a recent theory that *The Sources of 'Othello'* (*M. L. N.* xl. 226) are to be found, not in Cinthio's *Ecatommiti*, but in some lost tale descending like *Ecatommiti* itself from the Byzantine epic of *Digenis Akritas*. Dr. H. Türck (*Jahrbuch*) refines in *Der Totenschädel in Hamlet's Hand* upon Hamlet's own philosophizing. Professor T. S. Graves, another scholar recently lost to us, gives in *The Adventures of Hamlet's Ghost* (*P. Q.* iv. 139) a light-hearted account of the Ghost in stage tradition, of his gestures and intonations, of various attempts to secure illusion, and of more than one absurd *contretemps*. Dr. G. von Glasenapp (*Jahrbuch*) considers the nature of *Banquo's Geist*. The present writer has endeavoured to defend *The Integrity of 'The Tempest'* (*R. E. S.* i. 129) as a play of single date against Dr. Wilson's theory of revision, and the Shakespearian authorship of its mask against Mr. Robertson. He also (*R. E. S.* i. 75) prints a letter bearing on *The Date of 'Richard II'*.

Heywood crops up again in Mr. H. D. Gray's *Heywood's 'Pericles' Revised by Shakespeare* (*P. M. L. A.* xl. 507). Mr. Gray is able to quote a good many parallels between Heywood's voluminous writings and the first two Acts of *Pericles*, but such force as there is in them is weakened by the admissions that Heywood was a frequent borrower, that his diction was not distinctive, and that some of the points cited have also been used by Mr. Sykes as arguments for Wilkins. They are in fact largely colourless and unevidential. There is not much about Shakespeare. The choruses and the brothel scenes are included in the claim for Heywood, and although Shakespeare is held to be recognizable in Acts III–V, Mr. Gray treats him as working over Heywood's material. There is much *a priori* improbability in any theory which contemplates contributions to the same play by an actor-playwright of the King's men and an actor-playwright of Queen Anne's men.

The re-ordering of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* has always been

a favourite pastime with students who are able to persuade themselves that the first editor is not likely to have more evidence to go upon than his successors. Their results are generally subjective, satisfying their own notions of logical continuity, and entailing the assumption that the sonnets were all or nearly all, as some of them obviously were, of serial and not solitary inspiration. Dr. Fischer's *Shakespeare's Sonette*¹⁶ appears to be of this type, and to be mainly for the conjecturally minded, who are, however, apt to prefer their own conjectures. Sir Denys Bray claims to have followed exceptionally an objective method in his *Original Order of Shakespeare's Sonnets*.¹⁷ He has observed that contiguous sonnets of common theme are often also linked by the use of a common rhyme-sound or even a common rhyme-word. And he supposes that this linking originally ran through the whole collection, and is capable of being recovered, and has in fact been recovered by his own patient study. Further he supposes that there was a double chain, that the so-called *Thou*-Sonnets were written first and linked in this way, and the *You*-Sonnets (subsequently added with rhyme-links adapted to the same principle, so that the interweaving is still, in Sir Denys Bray's revised order, mechanically traceable. The idea is ingenious, but one does not quite see what purpose the artifice was to serve. No doubt the Elizabethans did occasionally link the sonnets of a sequence, and when the linking took the form of repeating the last line of one sonnet as the first line of the next, a rhythmic effect was obtained. But nothing of the sort results from the minor echoes here suggested. There can hardly be any signalling of a deliberately confused order. And if there is a mere artifice it is a pointless one, since it rests sometimes on actual rhyme-words and sometimes merely on rhyme-sounds, and the 'links' are not necessarily attached at any given lines of the sonnets concerned, but come anywhere. It must be added that Sir Denys Bray's method still leaves room for a good deal of subjectivity. There are seven rhyme-sounds and fourteen rhyme-words available as links in each

¹⁶ *Shakespeare's Sonette*, aus dem Nachlasse von R. Fischer, herausgegeben von K. Brunner. Wien und Leipzig: Braumüller. pp. vi + 182. 4 M.

¹⁷ *The Original Order of Shakespeare's Sonnets*, by Sir Denys Bray. Methuen. pp. xiv + 130. 5s. net.

sonnet, and as some of these are repeated in a good many sonnets, there are numerous alternative orders possible, without breaking the laws of the game. And so Sir Denys Bray has after all to exercise his personal choice, like any other diaskeuast. A newly published type-facsimile of the 1609 *Q*₁ of the *Sonnets* is taken from the Grenville copy in the British Museum, and supplements the Praetorius facsimile from the other British Museum copy, and Sir Sidney Lee's from the Malone copy in the Bodleian.¹⁸

The finest contribution of the year to the higher criticism of Shakespeare is undoubtedly to be found in Mr. Granville-Barker's British Academy lecture on *From 'Henry V' to 'Hamlet'*.¹⁹ Spiritual insight and a gift of literary expression combine with close experience of the actor's art to give it an exceptional value. Mr. Granville-Barker regards the transition between the two plays which furnish his title as 'the crucial period of Shakespeare's development as a dramatist'. Up to *Henry V* he has been growing in power as 'a popular play-provider', charming his public by piece after piece which exactly met the demand for the 'newly arisen art of emotional acting'. *Henry V* was his final triumph on these lines, and Mr. Granville-Barker suggests that it left him dissatisfied, at a 'dead end'. For throughout, side by side with this 'complaisant' Shakespeare, there had been a 'daemonic' Shakespeare, 'the genius bent on having his own way; the Shakespeare to whom the idea is more than the theory, who cares much for character and little for plot, who cannot indeed touch the stagiest figure of fun without considering it as a human being and giving it life, whether it suits Shakespeare the popular play-provider to do so or not'. And to this 'daemonic' Shakespeare Henry, this effective stage-king and patriot, set in a 'well-carpentered piece of work', was emptiness. Thereafter tentatively in *Julius Caesar*, triumphantly in *Hamlet*, he turned to seek a new road. 'Drama was to lie only formally in the external action, was to consist of the revelation of character and of the inevitable clashes between

¹⁸ *Shakespeare's Sonnets*. A Facsimile. Cape. 7s. 6d. net.

¹⁹ *The British Academy: The Annual Shakespeare Lecture, 1925. From 'Henry V' to 'Hamlet'*, by H. Granville-Barker. O.U.P. pp. 29. 1s. net.

the natures of men. And even behind these there would be the struggle within a man's own nature; and the combatant powers there must be dramatized.' Mr. Granville-Barker does not really stop at *Hamlet*. He goes on with subtle analysis and much felicity of phrase to trace Shakespeare's moulding of his new dramatic form to its ultimate expression in the storm of *Lear*, 'a marvellous piece of stage-craft, the finest and most significant single thing he ever did'. And there he stops to ask himself a question. Was Shakespeare right in his choice, or was that disillusion with King Henry really a danger-signal rather than a beacon? Did his new drama, endeavouring to bring its spectators into contact with man as he essentially is, ask more of the theatre than the theatre could give? 'Does the dramatist seriously expect a company of these actors, decked in borrowed clothes and borrowed passions, strutting the bare boards for an hour or so, to compass these tasks he has set them?' On the whole, the experienced actor confesses somewhat ruefully that, so far as any interpretative art goes that has yet been seen on the English stage, it was rather a misadventure. Yet he has his dream for the future.

'Here is a high task and a hard task, and a task, as I contend, never fully attempted yet. For Shakespeare did in these greater imaginings break through the boundaries of the material theatre he knew, and none that we have known has been able to compass them. Can such a theatre be brought to being? How can we say till we have tried? But as Shakespeare never ceased to be the practical playwright and man of the theatre the chances are, perhaps, that it can. Only, however, I believe, by providing for some continuance of that guild of grave and sober men of reputation to whom the work was first a gift. A gift too great for them perhaps; is it still too great a one for us? Or can we, after three centuries, amid all this tribute to Shakespeare as the marvel of our race, contrive to make his art at its noblest a living thing?'

Dr. M. J. Wolff handles *Shakespeares Form* (*Germ.-Rom. Monatschrift*, xiii. 382). By *Form* he means 'fashion' in the sense of Ben Jonson's lines:

'For though the Poet's matter Nature be,
His Art doth give the fashion.'

And he defines it as the grasping and working up of matter

through a unifying *Stimmung*. The secret of Shakespeare's *Form* is in the epic or narrative exposition of matter taken over from a popular dramatic tradition, together with a power of dramatic concentration in the handling of individual scenes. The latter is the product of the professional actor's sense for the give and take of action and dialogue on the boards. The epic manner, heading to a historical treatment, furnishes the element of remoteness, which universalizes, as is necessary for the tragic *katharsis*. Professor H. Craig in *The Ethics of King Lear* (*P. Q.* iv. 97) discusses the ethical philosophy of the Renaissance, and finds it to turn round the ideas of Wisdom, Justice, Temperance, and Courage, as set out, for example, in Thomas Wilson's *Art of Rhetoric* on the basis of the *Nicomachean Ethics* and St. Thomas Aquinas. These ideas dominate *Lear*. 'One need not believe that Shakespeare had made an intimate study of ethical writers, either those mentioned here or others; but one must believe that, when he approached an ethical subject, he saw it in the broad inclusive outlines which appeared in the thought of his time.' It might be safer to say, 'in such blurred outlines as came to him through the popular writings and talk of his time'. The same writer in *Shakespeare's Depiction of Passions* (*P. Q.* iv. 289) argues from the poet's familiarity with Elizabethan psychology, such as is found in Sampson Lennard's contemporary translation of Charron's *De la Sagesse* (1601), and as particularly interested in the psychological manifestations of passion. Mr. W. Diamond criticizes *Wilhelm Meister's Interpretation of 'Hamlet'* (*Mod. Phil.* xxiii. 89). Goethe was a great creative artist, rather than a critic. His interpretation of *Hamlet* was subjective rather than objective, being coloured by the personality of Wilhelm Meister himself, 'the susceptible, sentimental, happy-go-lucky quixotic hero of a novel by Goethe'. Mr. Diamond prefers the 'Klein-Werder' theory, which has been popular in Germany since Germany ceased to be sentimental, and which explains Hamlet's tragic delay, not by weakness of resolve, but by the difficulty of getting evidence to corroborate the Ghost. Miss E. Schäfer in *Shakespeare und das Domestic-Drama* (*Germ.-Rom. Monatsschrift*, xiii. 202, 286) traces analogies between motives and phrases in *Lear*, *Measure for Measure*, and *Othello*, and in plays on themes of family relationship, produced

about the end of the sixteenth century. She thinks that these indicate, not merely the prevalence of a popular taste for 'domestic' situations, but actual influences, or what Rupert Brooke calls 'half-influences', of plays he had seen or read upon Shakespeare.

The popularity in recent years of the study of 'comparative' literature is leading to many researches into the history and extent of Shakespearian influence in foreign countries. *Shakespeare in France*, by Mr. Haines, obtained the Harness Prize in 1922, and is issued as part of a systematic *Survey* undertaken by the Shakespeare Association.²⁰ It follows the course of Shakespeare's reputation in France during three centuries. The main topics are, of course, the conflicting attitudes of Voltaire to Shakespeare and the eighteenth-century controversies in which he took part; and then again the inspiration drawn from Shakespeare by Victor Hugo and his fellow Romantics and the new outburst of criticism to which this gave rise. Mr. Haines traces the conflicts of dramatic formulae and the reactions of Shakespeare's genius upon the Gallic temperament with lucidity and great fullness of detail, although he inevitably has to traverse much well-trodden ground. He appends a useful bibliography. Dr. Herford has a wider field, and naturally concerns himself more with general trend than with details in *A Sketch of the History of Shakespeare's Influence on the Continent* (*Bull. of John Rylands Library*, ix. 20). He begins with 1730, and covers Germany and Russia as well as France. Of Shakespeare among the Latin peoples there is little to say. Dr. Herford's wide reading and power of critical generalization make this an illuminating paper. He helps to fill in the sketch with two detailed studies. *A Russian Shakespearian* (*ibid.*, ix. 453) is an account, originally given as a Skemp lecture at Bristol University, of Pushkin's tragedy of *Boris Godunov*, which was written in 1825 under the immediate spell of Shakespeare's histories. Dr. Herford gives an analysis of the play, with translations of some of its critical scenes. His *Shakespeare and Descartes* (*Hibbert Journal*, xxiv. 88) emphasizes the

²⁰ *Shakespeare in France: Criticism: Voltaire to Victor Hugo*, by C. M. Haines. O.U.P. for Shakespeare Association. pp. 170. 10s. 6d. net.

'paradox' of the part played by the growing continental knowledge of the plays, after Voltaire's return from England in 1728, in overthrowing the dominant Cartesian philosophy. This took its stand on the primacy of thought. Descartes turned away from nature as 'extension incapable of thought', and from history, whose facts 'resisted reduction to universal law'. The 'annexation' of Shakespeare encouraged the new trend of speculation represented by Leibniz, which aimed at vindicating imagination, to Descartes 'illusory and confused', as no less an element in man—the individual man—than reason itself. Shakespeare's imaginative power, in the reconstruction of history, in the depiction of man under the sway of supernatural beliefs, in the portraiture of whole individuals, proved a powerful ally. The plays 'contributed stimulus and conviction to the forces which were undermining the despotism of an exclusive reason'. Fräulein M. Schütt (*Jahrbuch*) asks *Hat Calderon Shakespeare gekannt?* and arrives at no certain answer. M. E. Legouis traces *La Révolte de l'Inde contre Shakespeare* (*Revue Anglo-Américaine*, ii. 193) in the criticisms of *Macbeth* and *Othello* by S. Dutt. They contain little of novelty to Western scholars, but are interesting as symptoms of a reaction against the tyranny of English text-books of literature, which is itself only part of a more general reaction against Western civilization. '*Othello*' in French, by Miss M. Gilman, is a volume of the *Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature Comparée*.²¹ Professor Luís Cardim has translated *Julius Caesar* into Portuguese.²²

M. Jusserand's new volume of essays really belongs to *The Year's Work* of 1924. It contains three of Shakespearian interest, on *The Winter's Tale*, *Ben Jonson's Views on Shakespeare's Art*, and *What to Expect of Shakespeare*. They are not new, but have been revised and now become more easily accessible.²³ The familiar Globe text has been reprinted in three volumes, with a separate chronological ordering of the Comedies, Histories, and

²¹ '*Othello*' in French, by M. Gilman. Paris: Champion. pp. vii + 197. 15 Fr.

²² *William Shakespeare. A Tragédia de Júlio César*, traduzida por Luís Cardim. Porto. Renascença Portuguesa. pp. 283.

²³ *The School for Ambassadors and Other Essays*, by J. J. Jusserand, 1924. Fisher Unwin. pp. 359. 21s. net.

Tragedies, a pleasant introduction to each volume by Mr. Charles Whibley, and a number of illustrations, largely from German engravings, which might well have been spared.²⁴ Mr. Jaggard has compiled a record of the now destroyed Memorial Theatre at Stratford, since its foundation by Mr. Charles Flower in 1879.²⁵

The late Professor Kilian, in *Shakespeare und die Mode des Tags (Jahrbuch)*, describes the application of modern methods of staging to Shakespeare's plays. Dr. F. Schnapp (*Jahrbuch*), in *Franz Liszt's Stellung zu Shakespeare*, collects some letters and memoranda of the musician on the poet.

The present writer has reproduced in *The First Illustration to 'Shakespeare'* (*Library*, v. 326) a pen-and-ink drawing by Henry Peacham of a scene from *Titus Andronicus*, preserved in a manuscript at Longleat. To it is attached a script of some lines from the play, the text of which exhibits variants from that of the prints.

Many minor points and interpretations of individual passages are dealt with in communications to various periodicals, notably to the *T.L.S.*, *Modern Language Notes*, and the *Revue Anglo-Américaine*. These are of unequal value. The more interesting are those by Mr. A. R. Cripps on the 'bearherd' (which he thinks an allusion to Alleyn) of *2 Henry IV*, i. ii. 192 (*T.L.S.*, 9th Apr.); Mr. F. Madan on 'milice' for 'malice' in *J.C.* III. i. 174 (*T.L.S.*, 23rd Apr., 14th May); Mr. R. C. Rhodes on a possible repainting of Shakespeare's monument in 1769 (*T.L.S.*, 7th May); Mr. O. W. F. Lodge and M. Paul Reyher on a (not very probable) allusion to the death of Marlowe in the 'great reckoning in a little room' of *A.Y.L.* III. iii. 15 (*T.L.S.*, 14th May, 27th Aug.); Miss L. G. Thompson on the name Gobbo in the registers of Titchfield (*T.L.S.*, 17th Sept.); Miss M. L. C. Linthicum on the 'meacock' of *T.S.*, II. i. 315 (*M.L.N.* xl. 96); Mr. M. L. Wilder and Professor G. L. Kittredge on Shakespeare's 'small Latin' (*M.L.N.* xl. 380, 440); Mr. W. A.

²⁴ *The Works of William Shakespeare*, Chronologically Arranged, with Introductions by Charles Whibley. Macmillan. 3 vols. pp. xlii + 618; xlv + 718; lv + 666. 7s. 6d. net.

²⁵ *Shakespeare Memorial, Stratford-on-Avon*, by W. Jaggard. Shakespeare Press, Stratford-on-Avon. pp. 37. 1s. 6d.

Osborne on the 'scamels' of *Tp.* II. ii. 176 (*M. L. R.* xx. 73); Mr. B. Dickins on the 'Pythagoras concerning wildfowl' of *T. N.* IV. ii. 54 (*M. L. R.* xx. 186); Mr. A. R. Bayley on the identification (not a new one) of 'Mons, the Hill' in *L. L. L.* v. i. 89 with Harrow (*N. Q.* cxlviii. 399, 417); Mr. J. D. Rea on the microcosm (*P. Q.* iv. 345); Mr. M. P. Tilley on Hamlet's sweat and the phrase 'What is't o'clock' (*J. E. G. P.* xxiv. 315); Mr. K. Malone on the etymology of Hamlet (*P. Q.* iv. 158); Dr. A. Eichler on Shakespeare's use of the term 'Master' (*E. S.* lx. 134); Mr. E. P. Kuhl on 'Lead apes in hell' (*S. in Ph.* xxii. 453).

[By C. H. HERFORD]

Sir E. K. Chambers has reissued, in his 'Survey', the introductory essays contributed by him to the several plays of an edition of Shakespeare published some twenty years ago.²⁶ In a review of 'the Year's Work of 1925' it would be improper to notice the book in detail, but equally improper to pass it by. Much, of course, has happened in the Shakespearian world since 1907-8, the date of the edition (the 'Red Letter' edition) in question. This is not the place to discuss the ethics (on which we cherish doubts) of Sir Edmund's plea that 'the maturer judgement of a man of sixty does not entitle him to erase or alter what the man of forty thought fit to record'. But his book has probably gained in homogeneity by that compliance. It represents, on the whole, that temper of Shakespearian criticism which was initiated in England by Coleridge, and of which Dr. A. C. Bradley is the greatest living master. His own intensive study of the Elizabethan stage notwithstanding, he is not of the school which allows either to the structure, the usages, the resources, or to the phases and fashions of that stage, a determining influence upon the character or the history of the Shakespearian drama. He dismisses, for instance, the theory, recent when he wrote, and now generally accepted, which connects the marked transition from the *Antony* and *Timon* group

²⁶ *Shakespeare: a Survey*, by E. K. Chambers. Sidgwick & Jackson. pp. viii + 325. 7s. 6d.

of tragedies to *Cymbeline* and *The Winter's Tale* with the new romantic comedy of Fletcher. Dowden, as is well known, saw in this transition a spiritual revolution, the nature of which he confidently diagnosed. That something happened in Shakespeare's mind which is by no means exhaustively expressed by a desire to keep the Globe and its company abreast of the new fashion must surely be affirmed to-day by many who would hesitate to endorse Sir Edmund's precise formulation of it in such statements as that *Cymbeline* is 'a palinode to *King Lear*' (p. 290) or (as he elsewhere puts it) to *Othello* (p. 219). And even within the scope of the 'tragic period' itself, while no one will deny 'a subtle change' of temper and of scope when we pass from *Julius Caesar* and *Hamlet* to *Othello*, *King Lear*, and *Macbeth*, few would now consent to define it by saying that 'the issue has shifted from the relations of man and man to the relations of man and his creator'. We do not think that it is the language only which is here un-Shakespearian. Elsewhere Sir Edmund sometimes (like Bishop Blougram) 'says right things, but calls them', we must think, 'by wrong names'. One may surely do justice to the robust English quality of Falconbridge, that Cœur-de-lion *redivivus*, without affirming that he is 'clearly intended to be typical of the stout Anglo-Saxon race'. But our criticisms, as will be seen, rarely amount to more than a desire for more carefully limited statements of propositions which in substance we hold to be true. The cultivated student of Shakespeare will find throughout the volume comment and discussion of the entire series of the plays, controlled by a sensitive critical instinct, and habitually felicitous in expression. Two graceful Tercentenary sonnets provide prologue and epilogue.

VII

ELIZABETHAN DRAMA

[By F. S. BOAS.]

THE year under review has made memorable contributions to the study of Elizabethan drama and stage-history. The two first volumes of an edition on the grand scale of Ben Jonson's works have been published. Documentary evidence concerning the death of Marlowe has been discovered. A collection of autographs of Tudor and Stuart dramatists has been made available. The authenticity of the disputed Revels Books has been established by new evidence. These and related items have their place in the following survey, which may conveniently begin with the one last mentioned and other contributions to our knowledge of theatrical history.

To the late D. T. B. Wood, Superintendent of the Students' Room in the Manuscripts Department of the British Museum, many investigators, and not least the present writer, were indebted for skilled help and counsel. Not long before his regretted death Mr. Wood performed an important service to scholarship by establishing beyond all reasonable doubt the genuineness of the Revels Books for 1604-5, and inferentially of those for 1611-12 and 1636. It is unnecessary here to go into the details of the long-drawn controversy. Our concern is with the points on which Mr. Wood fastened in his two articles, *The Revels Books: the Writer of the 'Malone Scrap'* and *The Suspected Revels Books* (*R. E. S.*, Jan. and April). Doubters of the authenticity of the Books have had to dismiss as forged a list of plays performed in 1604-5 contained in a 'scrap' included in the Malone papers at the Bodleian, which, if genuine, must have been copied long before Cunningham's day. Mr. Wood was himself predisposed to the forgery theory, when he started on a new investigation of the problem. But he was struck by the similarity of the handwriting in the 'scrap' and in the letters of Sir William

Musgrave, who was a Commissioner at the Audit Office, to which the Revels Books belonged from 1785 till his death in 1800. Musgrave (as has been known) brought to Malone's notice the Revels Books as a whole, and in 1791 Malone inspected them, but makes no mention of that for 1604-5. 'What is more probable', Wood asks, 'than that Musgrave found and copied that book and sent the extract to Malone some time between the date of Malone's visit to the Audit Office and Musgrave's death in 1800?'

Furthermore, the watermarks are all in favour of the 1604-5 and 1611-12 Books being written on genuine paper of the period. Interpolation is impossible except on a blank leaf. The accounts as a whole must be genuine, and any criticism must be directed to the lists of plays alone. But if these lists were forged we then know that this must have taken place before Musgrave wrote the 'Malone scrap'. 'The forger would have had to find the necessary blank sheets in the documents himself, before Musgrave had noted them, to have written his lists, to have brought them to Musgrave's notice, and (if that was part of the plot) to have ensured their despatch to Malone'. *Quod est absurdum.*

Some other MS. lists of plays have recently been brought to light by Mr. Marcham in *The King's Office of the Revels, 1610-1622*.¹ Cotton MS. Tiberius E. X. is *The History of Richard III*, by Sir George Buck, Master of the Revels from 1610 to 1622. Some alterations have been made upon inserted scraps of paper and these also contain other fragmentary matter connected with the business of the Revels Office. It is this matter which has been facsimiled and transcribed by Mr. Marcham. It consists partly of letters and drafts, partly of four lists of plays, some thirty in all, of which several are not otherwise known. In a review of the work in *R. E. S.* (Oct.) Sir Edmund Chambers adds notes on the plays, which 'show that there is independent evidence . . . consistent with the production or revival of quite a substantial proportion' of them about 1619 or

¹ *The King's Office of the Revels 1610-1622: Fragments of Documents in the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum*, transcribed by Frank Marcham, with a Preface by J. P. Gilson. Marcham. pp. 50, including 19 collotype plates. £2 2s.

1620. We owe therefore to Mr. Marcham a conspectus of plays thought sufficiently interesting for court performances at a time intermediate between that of those already known for 1612-13 and the beginning of Herbert's systematic record in 1622.

In *R. E. S.* (Jan. and April) Sir Edmund, in *Elizabethan Stage Gleanings*, prints eleven notes which he has collected since the publication of *The Elizabethan Stage*. Amongst the matters dealt with are 'The Date of *Richard II*', 'The Lord Chamberlain (William, Lord Cobham) at a Play'—both of these in connexion with letters from the Hatfield MSS., 'The Site of the Globe'—in which Sir Edmund defends Mr. Braines against Mr. Hubbard's attack—and 'Scottish Bag-Pipes on the Stage', as described by an Italian correspondent in 1607.

In *Notes on Elizabethan Plays* (*Mod. Phil.*, Aug.) the late T. S. Graves drew attention *inter alia* to (1) some words of Richard Vennar in his *Apology* (1614) in which he speaks of 'the Writer' of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, thus supporting W. B.'s attribution of it in the 1613 quarto to 'one father' i.e. Beaumont, (2) a statement by a correspondent to Lord Conway on 16th June 1653, that he could not get him a copy of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, and a further statement a week later that he could not buy the play under 2s., (3) a statement by J. P. Kemble to F. G. Waldron that the 'third man' mentioned in the prologue to *Bussy D'Ambois* as having acted the part was not Ilyard Swanston (as is generally held) but a less-well-known player, Tom Bond.

On William Fennor (who has been sometimes confused with the Richard Vennar mentioned above) new information is given by Mr. W. H. Grattan Flood in *Fennor and Daborne at Youghal in 1618* (*M. L. R.*, July). He quotes from Lord Boyle's diary for 14th June 1618, 'I gave Mr. Ffennor, the King's Jester, a hackney with bridle and saddle'. Fennor, who was a versifier and player, must thus have visited Youghal, in Co. Cork, which also had visits in February 161 $\frac{5}{8}$, from the Prince's players, from an unnamed company in 1619, and the King's players in 1625. Boyle also, from evidence quoted by Mr. Flood, secured the appointment of Robert Daborne, the dramatist, who was ordained

in 1616 as a Fellow of Youghal College, that he might help him in the sequestration of its endowments. Other new facts about Dabone's later clerical career are given from *The Lismore Papers*.

In *The Evidence of Theatrical Plots for the History of the Elizabethan Stage* (R. E. S., July) Dr. Greg examines the seven extant 'Plots'—which give the skeleton outlines of plays scene by scene for use in the theatre—for 'the light which the casts revealed in the Plots thrown upon the history of the companies to which they are supposed to belong, and conversely that thrown by the history of the companies upon the interpretation and dates of the Plots'. Dr. Greg, as a result of this examination, comes in some points to conclusions different from those of Sir E. Chambers in *The Elizabethan Stage*. Thus the names of the actors in the Plot of the Second Part of *The Seven Deadly Sins* are in his view those of 'the old Strange's men alone'. He therefore puts the junction of Strange's men and the Admiral's later than Sir Edmund. 'The probability is that Strange's men performed *The Seven Deadly Sins* at the Curtain, while the Admiral's men were acting separately at the Theatre, and that the regular amalgamation did not take place till the supposed migration to the Rose in 1591 or 1592.' Dr. Greg believes that *The Dead Man's Fortune*, of which a 'Plot' is extant, was acted by the Admiral's men before the amalgamation. He also holds, unlike Sir Edmund, that when the combination broke up, in 1594, there was 'a segregation of original elements'; that what remained of the joint company represented the original Strange's men, as recorded in the Plot of *The Seven Deadly Sins*; and that these men soon afterwards transferred themselves in a body to the service of the Lord Chamberlain, thus preserving a real continuity.

The rest of the article deals more shortly with points arising out of the other Plots. Criticism of some other points in Sir Edmund's volumes will be found in Mr. H. Granville-Barker's *A Note upon Chapters XX and XXI of 'The Elizabethan Stage'* (R. E. S., Jan.). Mr. Granville-Barker, while doing homage to Sir Edmund's magnificent scientific achievement, holds that not sufficient account is taken of the 'vagaries and virtues' of 'those most unscientific persons—the Elizabethan playwright and actor'. He contends that it was on the popular stages of

the inns 'that the vitality which carried Elizabethan drama to its heights was generated, not at Court, in the Universities, or at Paul's'; and even in *Antony and Cleopatra* he finds 'the essence of the stagecraft bred upon the inn stage'. This stagecraft ignored locality. 'Apart from the use that inner, outer, and upper stage were momentarily put to they were nothing, they were artistically non-existent. And scene after scene might pass with the actors moving to all intents merely in the ambit of the play's story and of their own emotions.' The conventions of locality hardened with the transition from outdoor to indoor playing.

In *English Actors in Paris during the Lifetime of Shakespeare* (R. E. S., Oct.) Miss Frances A. Yates adds some details to our knowledge of the continental tours of English travelling companies in the early seventeenth century. She first quotes the previously known references to English 'comédiens' in the 'Inventaire des titres et papiers de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne', in May and June 1598, and the amusing account by Jean Héroard of how the little Dauphin (afterwards Louis XIII) dressed up and mouthed in imitation of the English actors whom he had seen act a tragedy—which she conjectures may have been *Richard III*—at Fontainebleau on 18th September 1604. Miss Yates searched the P. R. O. Foreign State Papers in vain for further light on this performance, but she found two letters to Dudley Carleton, dated 14th and 18th March 1603, proving the presence in Paris in that month of English players who were mixed up in a tavern brawl. There are also two references in despatches from Paris of the Ambassador, Sir Thomas Parry, 11th August and 3rd October 1604, to 'one Browne an English comedian', who may possibly be the touring actor Robert Browne, though he seems at this time to have been at Frankfort-on-Main.

In *Crosfield's Diary and the Caroline Stage* (Fortnightly Review, April) the present writer has given some new details about the London theatrical companies in 1634, taken from the MS. *Diary* of Thomas Crosfield, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, to which attention was drawn by the late Percy Manning in an article, 'Sport and Pastime in Stuart Oxford', in

the O. H. S. volume *Surveys and Tokens*. On 18th July 1634 Crosfield records an interview he had with Richard Kendall, a member of the Company of Salisbury Court, i.e. the King's Revels Company. Kendall gave Crosfield the names of the nine chief members of this company, including the seven 'sharers', and also the names of the leading members of the four other London companies. These supplement and correct (except in the case of the King's company) our knowledge from other sources. The *Diary* also mentions the 'King's Arms' inn as the Oxford head-quarters of touring companies, and it contains information about puppet shows.

In *Women on the Pre-Restoration Stage* (*S. in Ph.*, April) the late Thornton S. Graves, after a reconsideration of the evidence on the subject, reaffirmed the traditional view 'that there is hardly a practice of our old theatre more demonstrably certain than the fact that professional actresses were never regularly employed in England prior to the Restoration'. The references to women on the stage are either to (1) female 'freaks' or women like Moll Frith appearing in a special 'stunt', (2) to female tumblers and rope-dancers, (3) foreign actresses, such as were included in the French company that visited London in 1629.

Dr. Greg's *Prompt Copies, Private Transcripts, and the Playhouse Scrivener* (*The Library*, Sept.) is a convenient bridge in this survey from stage-history to palaeography. In the examination of various dramatic MSS. Dr. Greg sees the figure emerge of the Playhouse Scrivener, to be roughly identified with the 'book-keeper' or later-day prompter. In *Believe as You List* all the theatrical additions are, he holds, by a single person, the book-keeper of the King's Company, whose hand has been identified by Mr. J. C. Sisson as that of the scribe of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Honest Man's Fortune* in the Dyce Collection (no. 9). Dr. Greg has further found the same hand in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Bonduca*, British Museum MS. Addit. 36758, 'which shows none of the usual stigmas of the prompt copy, and is without doubt a transcript made for a private collector'. A note at the beginning of Act v in this MS. shows

that the acting copy had disappeared, and that the transcript was made from 'the fowle papers of the Authors', i. e. the rough draft which was imperfect.

Similarly the hand of the scribe of *Sir John van Olden Barnavelt*, B. M. MS. Addit. 18653, is found again in Middleton's *The Witch*, Bodleian MS. Malone 12. 'The conjecture is at least legitimate that in either case we are dealing with the work of the official book-keeper of the King's Company. If so, we must allow that to speak of a Playhouse Scrivener, say from 1620 to 1640, involves no great violence to the evidence at our disposal.'

From two of the above MSS. (*Believe as You List* and *The Honest Man's Fortune*) and another Dyce MS., *The Faithful Friends*, Mr. J. C. Sisson, in *Bibliographical Aspects of some Stuart Dramatic Manuscripts* (R. E. S., Oct.), gives instances of textual disturbance which would give rise in print to the phenomena of False Verse—Timing, Repeated Passages, 'Ghost' Parts, and Variant Speech-Headings. He shows how these offer new explanations of some Shakespearian *cruces*.

In *English Literary Autographs, 1550-1650: Part I—Dramatists*,² Dr. Greg has provided all students of Elizabethan drama with an invaluable record and instrument of research. The collection is part of a larger enterprise—the reproduction of a hundred literary autographs, including poets and prose-writers as well as playwrights, between 1550 and 1650. This part includes thirty facsimile plates containing forty-two autographs of dramatists and others professionally connected with the stage. Approximately half are taken from Henslowe's Diary, and its associated documents at Dulwich, and half from other sources. Each plate is faced by a transcript of its contents and accompanied by palaeographic notes and biographical details. Among the contents are receipts and short memoranda from Henslowe's Diary; inscriptions in books; letters on private matters and affairs of State; passages from MS. plays, pageants,

² *English Literary Autographs, 1550-1650*. Selected for reproduction (and edited by W. W. Greg) in collaboration with J. P. Gilson, Hilary Jenkinson, R. B. McKerrow, A. W. Pollard. Part I—Dramatists. O.U.P. Price to subscribers 30s. each part, £4 4s. the set.

and masques; licences and marginal comments by Masters of the Revels. Henceforth no University library will be adequately equipped without a set of these facsimiles. For students of MSS. in a more elementary stage Miss M. St. Clare Byrne has provided useful hints and suggestions, with helpful facsimiles, in *Elizabethan Handwriting for Beginners* (see above, p. 129).

Before we turn to works dealing with some specialized feature of Elizabethan drama, or with individual playwrights, mention may be made of *Notes on an Elizabethan Play*, an article in *T.S.L.* (5th March) comparing the characteristics and effect of Elizabethan drama with those of the modern realistic novel, illustrated particularly from *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* and *Anna Karenina* respectively. A pleasant introduction to the subject, from 'the University Wits' to Jonson, will be found in Mr. Harrison's *Story of Elizabethan Drama*.³ And for a more comprehensive study Professor Schelling provides material in his *Elizabethan Playwrights*,⁴ a revised and simplified version of his well-known work.

In *L'Italia nel Dramma inglese*⁵ Signor Rébora discusses the influence of his country upon the Elizabethan drama and theatre, and the presentation of Italian types and scenes in the plays of the period. His pleasantly written and well-documented monograph deals in successive chapters with various aspects of this wide theme. He emphasizes the fact that it is to the Italian theatre and not to the Italian novel that the English drama is first indebted in such adaptations, in the first decade of Elizabeth's reign, as Gascoigne's *Jocasta* and *Supposes*, and the anonymous *Buggbears*; the plays founded on Italian novels, e.g. *Tancred and Gismunda* and *Promos and Cassandra*, follow a little later. The debt of Greene, especially in *James the Fourth*, to Giraldi Cinthio is well brought out; but the

³ *The Story of Elizabethan Drama*, by G. B. Harrison. C.U.P. 1924. pp. 134. 5s. net and 3s. net.

⁴ *Elizabethan Playwrights: A Short History of the English Drama from the Beginning to the Closing of the Theaters in 1642*. New York: Harper. pp. xiv + 335. 12s. 6d.

⁵ *L'Italia nel Dramma inglese (1558-1642)*, di Piero Rébora. Milano: 'Modernissima', Via Vivaio, 10. pp. 319. l. 15.

Euphuism of Lyly and his imitators owes more to Spanish, and less to Italian influences, than Sig. Rébora recognizes. While admitting that 'non grande influenza libresca e litteraria italiana' can be found in Marlowe's plays, he claims that with him 'la dottrina della volontà di potenza, del superuomo machiavellico, entra nel dramma inglese'. A later chapter discusses in detail this 'machiavellismo' as an element in Elizabethan drama, and as an illustration of a thesis developed by Sig. Rébora that in the later years of Elizabeth it was not so much the purely literary, as the social and cultural, influences of the southern peninsula that affected the English stage.

Chapters on the 'pastoral' and the masque do not contain anything that is very new, but that on the 'commedia dell'arte in Inghilterra' is interesting. He quotes the various well-known references to Italian players in London and elsewhere and is of opinion that their performances were 'uno dei principali fattori d'informazione circa i gusti, la mentalità, i costumi, il carattere degli Italiani'. In the episode of the mountebanks in Act III of *Volpone* he finds evidence of Jonson's 'conoscenza varia, viva, profonda e certo di prima mano della commedia italiana e specialmente del dramma dell'arte'. Jonson altogether, in Sig. Rébora's view, is pre-eminent for his full and accurate knowledge of things Italian; while Marston, maternally of Italian descent, deals with Italian themes, but mainly in a cynical and denunciatory spirit, illustrating the 'persistente azione di denigrazione della vita italiana', which, prompted largely by religious antagonism, is a prominent feature of the epoch.

A chapter is devoted to 'la vita italiana nella tragedia romantica inglese', from Webster to Ford, and the two final chapters to 'motivi italiani' in Shakespeare. With better judgement than some of his countrymen and others, Sig. Rébora does not see Giordano Bruno in Biron or in phases of Hamlet, nor Florio in Holofernes. But in the fact that Florio in the *World of Wordes* mentions twenty-two Italian plays among the works consulted by him Sig. Rébora finds further proof of his contention that 'il teatro italiano era largamente diffuso' in England, and that it rather than the novel was the main influence on our drama. On the question of a visit to Italy by

Shakespeare he 'hedges', but he goes farther than the bulk of English critics in claiming for him 'una vasta conoscenza della lingua e della cultura italiana, di cui fece prodigo uso nei suoi drammi'.

Another study of a foreign nationality as mirrored in Tudor and Stuart play is Dr. J. L. Cardozo's *The Contemporary Jew in the Elizabethan Drama*.⁶ It is a scholarly and fully-documented work, worthy of careful attention, whether its main thesis is considered to be proven or otherwise. In opposition to the views of Mr. Lucien Wolf in *The Middle Age of Anglo-Jewish History* (1887) and of Sir Sidney Lee in *Elizabethan England and the Jews* (Trans. of the New Shakspeare Soc., 1888) Dr. Cardozo maintains that no Jews professing their faith were resident in England between their expulsion by Edward I in 1290 and their readmittance by Cromwell. This in itself is an historical rather than a literary question, but with it is involved the problem whether Marlowe, Shakespeare, and others drew the Jewish figures in their plays from first-hand knowledge or otherwise. Dr. Cardozo re-examines the evidence upon which Mr. Wolf and Sir Sidney Lee based their conclusions. He shows that the book by Nicholas Nicholay, translated into English and printed in 1585, which refers to the English Levant Company, makes mention of the trading activities of Levantine Jews, but gives no countenance to 'visions of round-table conferences in London, with Jewish Directors fraternizing with English colleagues'. From a careful examination of a passage referring to Houndsditch in Anthony Munday's enlarged continuation of Stow's *Survey of London* (1618), Dr. Cardozo proves that it gives no warrant (as Lee inferred) for crediting 'Elizabethan Houndsditch with Jewish clothiers and pawnbrokers'. On the other hand, he has had difficulty in getting over Coryat's reference in his *Maturities* (1625) to his visit in Constantinople 'to the house of a certaine English Jew called Amis, borne in the Crootched Friers in London, who hath two sisters more of his owne Jewish Religion, commorant in Galata, who were likewise borne in the same place'. As Amis had left England

⁶ *The Contemporary Jew in the Elizabethan Drama*, by J. L. Cardozo. Amsterdam: H. J. Paris. pp. xii + 335. 12s. net.

about 1583 when he was thirty years of age, he cannot have been known to Marlowe or Shakespeare, but in the face of this evidence it is difficult to believe that there were no professing Jews whom they could have encountered in the London streets. Dr. Cardozo makes too much of the fact that in the nine extant plays with Jewish characters, beginning with R. Wilson's *Three Ladies of London* (1584) and ending with T. Goffe's *The Raging Turk* (1627), the scenes of action are Mediterranean, and that no Jew is definitely presented as an Elizabethan inhabitant of England. Similarly he tries to get over the City-Wife's words in *Every Woman in her Humour*, 'You may hire a good suit at a Jewes', by the fact that the scene of the play is Rome. Such arguments ignore the Elizabethan dramatists' habit of transferring to imagined scenes of action features familiar to them in their own surroundings. But if Dr. Cardozo, as we think, falls short of proving his contention, he has put the problem in a fresh setting.

The two chapters on the names of Jewish dramatis personae are also interesting. With regard to *The Merchant of Venice* Dr. Cardozo points out that not only are Iscah (Iesca, Jessica), Tubal, and Chus found in Genesis, chaps. x and xi, but that in x. 24 there occurs twice a Hebrew name, which should be transliterated Shèlach, or Shâlach, but which appears in the English versions as Salah (or Shelah in the R.V.). The juxtaposition of the four names, in Dr. Cardozo's view, cannot be accidental, and he holds that 'they were taken collectively, at a sitting, from the Hebrew text' not by Shakespeare, who was ignorant of Hebrew, but by the author of *The Jew*, the old play mentioned by Gosson in 1579 as shown at the Bull. This is pure speculation, but the coincidence of the names is striking, and it is a gain to have succeeded in tracing 'Shylocke' (the spelling of Q 1 and 2 and usually of F 1), a singularly puzzling name, to what appears to be its Hebrew original.

In Dr. Hotson's *The Death of Christopher Marlowe*⁷ we have one of the most important contributions of recent years to the biographical side of stage-history. The earliest accounts of

⁷ *The Death of Christopher Marlowe*, by J. Leslie Hotson. The Nonesuch Press; Cambridge (U.S.A.): Harvard Univ. Press. pp. 76. 7s. 6d. net.

Marlowe's end, by Beard in 1597 and Vaughan in 1600, agreed in the point that he had been killed by some one acting in self-defence, and Vaughan had given his name as Ingram. In the burial register of St. Nicholas' Church, Deptford, under the date 1st June 1593, there is the entry 'Christopher Marlowe slaine by ffrancis ffrezer'. Finding the name 'Ingram Frizer' in the Calendar of Close Rolls in the Record Office, Dr. Hotson concluded that this was the name of the man who killed Marlowe, and though the Close Rolls threw no light on the affair, he had the brilliant inspiration of searching the calendar of the Patent Rolls for pardons in cases of justifiable homicide. He was successful in finding the pardon granted to 'Ingram ffrisar' on 28th June, and further search brought to light the writ of summons to the Coroner, and his inquisition. The writ and the inquisition and the pardon are printed in full by Dr. Hotson in the original Latin, with an English translation of the two former. The gist of this documentary evidence is that on 30th May 1593, 'in the house of a certain Eleanor Bull, widow', Christopher Morley (as Marlowe is throughout called) quarrelled after supper with 'Ingram ffrysar' about the payment of the 'recknynge', and attacked him from behind, as he sat between Nicholas Skeres and Robert Poley, with his own dagger; and that Ingram ffrysar recovering the dagger, in self-defence gave Morley a wound over his right eye of which he instantly died.

Other legal documents summarized by Dr. Hotson give further information about the persons chiefly involved in the Deptford tragedy. From them we learn that Frizer was in the service of Thomas Walsingham of Chislehurst, with whom Marlowe was staying shortly before his death. He and Skeres were both sued by Anne Woodleff and her son Drew for alleged fraudulent practices. The result of the action is not known, but in 1603 Frizer was still connected with the Walsinghams. Skeres appears twice, in March 1594 and July 1601, as a prisoner. Robert Poley appears to be the spy of that name employed by Francis Walsingham in the Babington conspiracy of 1586.

If Dr. Hotson is right in identifying the Christopher Morley mentioned in the Privy Council Register, 29th June 1587, with the Christopher Morley of the Coroner's inquest in 1593, Marlowe himself was in his youth a Government agent. The

Lords of the Council request that, in spite of allegations to his discredit, and in consideration of the good service he had done her Majesty, 'he should be furthered in the degree he was to take [at Cambridge] this next Commencement'.

It is noteworthy that in the discussion aroused by Dr. Hotson's discoveries some of those who are inclined to discredit the findings of the coroner's jury have urged in effect that Marlowe's political activities had their part in the affray at Deptford, and that the authorities were anxious to hush the whole matter up by extending a pardon to Frizer. This is not the place to pursue the discussion, but note may be made of the following articles and letters which in one way or another bear upon it. *The Death of Marlowe*, article by Eugénie de Kalb, letters from E. K. Chambers and W. Poel (*T. L. S.*, 21st May); *Shakespeare and the Death of Marlowe*, by O. W. F. Lodge (*T. L. S.*, 14th May and 4th June) and Paul Reyher (*T. L. S.*, 9th July); *The Death of Marlowe*, by Sir George Greenwood (*T. L. S.*, 4th June); *The other Marlowe*, by Sir I. Gollancz (*The Times*, 23rd June and 25th July); H. F. Westlake (*The Times*, 24th June); and J. B. Whitmore (*The Times*, 24th July).

Among the Malone Society's Reprints is one of the 1594 edition of *Edward the Second*.⁸ This is the earliest known edition surviving in two copies, of which one is in the Landesbibliothek, Cassel, and the other in the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich. In the outer forme of H the latter presents a corrected, and the former an uncorrected, state, six of the seven variants being in punctuation. The reprint gives lists of these, of irregular and doubtful readings, and of the characters. From various irregularities in the text and prefixes the inference is drawn that 'the piece was printed from a playhouse manuscript, and also apparently that this had undergone some kind of revision for the stage'. Among the facsimiles included in the reprint are those of the MS. leaves which supply the place of the missing two first leaves in the Dyce copy of the 1598 edition. The date on the MS. title-page is given as 1593, and as the transcript agrees much more closely with the text of 1594 than

⁸ *Edward the Second*, by Christopher Marlowe. 1594. Malone Society Reprints. Prepared under the direction of the General Editor (W. W. Greg).

with that of 1598, there is good reason for supposing that there was a 1593 edition, of which no copy has survived.

The 'Broadway' reprint of the English Faust book of 1592, with the 'second report' or Wagner book of 1594,⁹ both modernized only in spelling and punctuation, will be useful to students of Marlowe's play. The editor, Dr. Rose, supplies a short scholarly introduction dealing with Faust as an historical personage, the German Faust book of 1587 and its relation to the English version of 1592; and the dramatic developments of the legend both in England and Germany. Curiously enough, he is least satisfactory in his somewhat perfunctory remarks on Marlowe's treatment of it.

In *The Chronology of Thomas Kyd's plays* (M. L. N., June) Mr. T. W. Baldwin corrects a mistake in the present writer's transcript of Kyd's letter to Sir J. Puckering (Harl. MSS. 6849, f. 218) in his edition of the dramatist's works (p. cix). Kyd speaks of 'my Lord, whom I have served almost theis vj yeres now'. The 'v' is slightly blotted, and the figure (as the present writer has known for some time) was incorrectly transcribed as 'iij'. As Kyd's letter was written in the summer of 1593, his service with his 'lord' must therefore have begun in the latter part of 1587.

Mr. Baldwin is, however, not warranted in drawing the conclusion that 'by the entrance of 1587, at the age of twenty-nine, Kyd ceased writing for the stage to enter the household' of his lord. As this lord had players for whom Marlowe wrote (as Kyd states), the natural assumption is that Kyd did likewise. It is true that *The Spanish Tragedy* was probably written before 1587, though Mr. Baldwin's proposed date 'near 1582' is, to say the least, doubtful. And *Soliman and Perseda* may also be earlier than 1587, even if we do not accept Mr. Baldwin's ingenious attempts to find in its closing words a reference to the measures in 1585 for the Queen's protection from plotters,

⁹ *Doctor John Faustus. The History of his Damnable Life and Deserved Death.* 1592. Together with *The Second Report of Faustus . . .* 1594, modernized and edited by William Rose. Routledge (Broadway Translations). pp. xvi + 327. 7s. 6d. net.

and thus internal grounds for dating its performance at the end of that year. Any new evidence that would help us to fix the limits of Kyd's dramatic activity would be welcome, and the present writer would certainly not dispute the statement that for the popularization of blank verse on the stage 'Marlowe must at least share honours with Kyd'. But it is unjustifiable, because Kyd entered the service of a lord in an unspecified capacity in 1587, to state dogmatically that 'we are now certain of one important point, and that is that Kyd had ceased writing for the stage when Marlowe, Greene, and Shakespeare began'.

In *Notes on John Lyly's Plays* (*S. in Ph.*, April) Professor W. P. Mustard supplies classical sources for a number of passages in Lyly's Court Comedies. They are chiefly from the *Ars Amatoria* and other poems of Ovid, but Pliny's *Natural History*, Virgil, Cicero, Plautus, Terence, and Pausanias and others are also drawn upon. Dr. Mustard has similar *Notes on Robert Greene's Plays* in *M. N. L.* (Dec.), which again mainly deal with classical sources, but also supply a few textual corrections in Churton Collins's edition.

In a note, *De Peele à Sidney, à propos d'une coquille* (*Rev. Ang.-Am.*, Feb.), M. G. Lambrin points out that the lines in *David and Bethsabe*, i. 1:

Bright Bethsabe gives earth to my desires;
Verdure to earth; and to that verdure flowers;
To flowers sweet odours; and to odours wings

are adapted from verses in 'la seconde Sepmaine, 1^{er} jour' of Du Bartas. He assumes somewhat arbitrarily that Peele did not know French, and suggests that he used the lost translation of Du Bartas by Sir Philip Sidney. His proposal to read 'heart' instead of 'earth' in the first line is quite unnecessary. It is evident that 'earth . . . verdure . . . flowers . . . odours' are each repeated twice and form a chain. Moreover, as M. Dumabel suggests in the June number of *Rev. Ang.-Am.*, Peele probably had the parable of the Sower, with the fructifying effect of earth, in his mind.

T. S. Graves wrote to *T. L. S.* (8th Jan.) to confirm an often

questioned statement by J. P. Collier (*Bibliographical Account*, i. 119) concerning the authorship of *Loocrine*. In the library of Mr. J. L. Clawson at Buffalo, N.Y., there is a copy of the 1595 edition of the play which contains on the title-page this MS. note, as deciphered by Mr. Seymour de Ricci:

Char. Tilney wrote [a]
Tragedy on (?) this matt^r [which]
hee named Estrild [which]
I think is this. It was b[roke?]
by his death. A (?) wis[er]
fellow (?) hath published [it]
I made dumbe shewes for it
when (?) I it saw (?)

G. B.

According to Mr. de Ricci, 'the early seventeenth-century hand signed G. B., and partly cut away by the binder's knife', shows the 'closest similitude' to the autographs of Sir George Buck in the Cottonian MSS. Collier is shown, therefore, to have been right (unless we are to suspect forgery) in stating that Buck in a note in a copy of the play assigned it to Charles Tilney, a cousin of Edmund Tilney whom Buck succeeded as Master of the Revels. If the ascription is correct, the passages imitated from Spenser's *Complaints* (1591) must have been added later, for Tilney was executed in 1586 for taking part in the Babington conspiracy.

On the other hand, in *A Collier Mystification* (*R. E. S.*, Oct.) Dr. Greg exposes his shifty methods in *inter alia* making Dyce responsible for his own statement that the MS. of 'The Hermit's Speech' (Egerton MS. 2623, ff. 15-16) delivered before the Queen in 1591 was in George Peele's autograph, and was subscribed by his initials.

The two volumes of the Oxford *Ben Jonson*¹⁰ published in 1925 are the first instalment of an edition of Jonson's complete works by Dr. Herford and Mr. Simpson which will eventually

¹⁰ *Ben Jonson*, ed. by C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson. Vols. I and II: *The Man and His Work*. O.U.P. pp. xviii + 441, vi + 482. With 8 plates. £2 2s.

extend to ten volumes. This instalment is occupied in the main with biographical and editorial matter. Volume I contains a *Life* of Jonson; four appendices, (1) contemporary notes and records, including the Conversations with Drummond; (2) twenty-two letters of Jonson; (3) sixteen legal and official documents ranging from 1597 to 1637; (4) a list of books in Jonson's library; and introductions to six of the plays. Volume II includes the introductions to the other plays, to the masques and entertainments, the poems, the English Grammar, and the *Discoveries*.

It is stated in the 'Preface' that the *Life* has 'been planned and written by a single hand', but that it includes material furnished by the 'investigations and discoveries due solely to the editor of the commentary'. The respective shares of Dr. Herford and Mr. Simpson in the work are thus indicated. The former is also responsible for the introductions to the plays, masques, and poems; the latter for those to the *Grammar* and the *Discoveries*, and for the Appendices.

The volumes, though not in all respects uniform with the Oxford *Kyd*, *Lyly*, and *Greene*, continue the *corpus* of Elizabethan dramatists that we owe to the Clarendon Press, and the edition, when completed, will be a massive and imposing monument in felicitous accord with the distinctive quality of Jonson's own genius. It was doubtless inevitable that a work planned on so great a scale should appear in sections, but the introductions to the individual plays, fine as is their literary quality, necessarily at present hang somewhat in the air without their respective texts, and must wait for their complete valuation till these appear. It is somewhat different with the other introductions, which (as the Preface points out) are continuous essays, though in that to the Poems references to the section *Ungathered Verse*, including *inter alia* verses by Ben to be reprinted for the first time in this edition, are somewhat baffling. But these are temporary inconveniences, and this introduction is in itself a masterly discussion of Jonson's non-dramatic verse, especially in its relation to those classical models which Ben's epigrams, elegies, and odes reproduced but with characteristic variations. So, too, the introduction to *Masques and Entertainments*, after a sketch of their earlier development at court, traces the history of Jonson's

thirty years' work, from *The Masque of Blackness*, 6th Jan. 1605, to *Love's Welcome*, 30th July 1634, in what, though not a self-chosen, became for him a fruitful field. 'The spectacle remains impressive of the Titan playing with bubbles and butterflies and rainbows, and struggling, not with complete success, yet never with utter failure, to weave enduring art out of these unsubstantial materials.' Five reproductions of Inigo Jones's designs for the masques of *Oberon* and *Chloridia* preserved at Chatsworth remind us of what Jonson owed to his collaborator and form a pendant to the series of similar designs contained in the *Descriptive Catalogue* issued by the Walpole and Malone Societies.¹¹

The *Life* is the most penetrating analysis that has yet been attempted, in the light of recent research by the editors and others, of Jonson's character and career. New material may come to light even before this edition is completed, but it is not likely to modify except in details the picture here presented, and growing under a succession of incisive strokes to its finish in the 'final appreciation'.

'In some very obvious senses, then, "rare" Ben Jonson is not one of the rarer spirits, but a man built of somewhat common materials, and on no very exalted lines. Wherein then does his "rarity" consist? Obviously it was in part only a relative and conditioned rarity. His contemporaries found him singular because his unmistakable genius was not in fact made on the common Elizabethan or Jacobean pattern. . . . His limitations, like his powers, were not those most characteristic of his time, and their singularity invested them, not in his own eyes only, with a certain glamour of distinction; while their very nature tended to exempt him from more commonplace failings, and to throw his exemption into yet more proud relief.'

Among the Appendices Mr. Simpson's new edition of Sibbald's transcript of the *Conversations* with Drummond, with valuable detailed annotations, is welcome. So are the *Letters*, of which seven were written during Jonson's imprisonment in 1605 for the unauthorized publication of *Eastward Ho!* Six of these are printed from the MS. in the library of Mr. W. A. White of New York, including two to unnamed lords and one to the Earl of

¹¹ See *The Year's Work*, vol. v, pp. 135-6.

Pembroke which have not appeared before. And most attractive of all, with its intimate revelation of Jonson's studies and tastes, is the *Lists of Books* in his library, with his autograph motto and name, and inscriptions like the Latin doggerel in his Amsterdam *Lucretius*, or James Howell's poem in his gift-copy of Davis's Welsh Grammar.

The progress of this great co-operative undertaking will be watched by all Elizabethan students with grateful interest. For some detailed criticisms and comments, which do not come within the scope of this survey, reference may be made to a review of the two volumes by Dr. W. W. Greg in *M. L. R.* (April, 1926), and to his article *Some Notes on Ben Jonson's Works* in *R. E. S.* (April, 1926), especially the important section dealing with *The Tale of a Tub*. Moreover, Dr. Greg in his introduction to the Malone Society reprint of the 1602 edition of *The Spanish Tragedy*¹² has thrown new light on Jonson's connexion with Kyd's play. He has shown it to be probable that the 'additions' which first appeared in this edition were not those for which Henslowe paid Jonson about £5 in 1601 and 1602, but earlier anonymous additions which entitled the play to be entered as new in the *Diary* when it was revived on 7th January 1597, though the record of this has been erased in modern times. The Malone edition, reprinted from the only known perfect copy of the 1602 quarto, now in the British Museum, also traces the unusually complicated bibliographical history of *The Spanish Tragedy*.¹³

With Mr. Stainer's iconoclastic monograph *The Conversations of Jonson and Drummond*¹⁴ it is not necessary to deal at length. His purpose is to show that Sibbald's transcript is a forgery, as are also 'the Heads of the Conversations', printed by Bishop Sage and Thomas Ruddiman in their folio edition of Drummond's works published in 1711 'from the Author's original copies'.

¹² *The Spanish Tragedy, with Additions, 1602.* Malone Society Reprint, prepared under the direction of the General Editor in consultation with Frederick S. Boas.

¹³ See also '*The Spanish Tragedy*'—*A Leading Case?* by Dr. Greg, in *The Library* (June).

¹⁴ *Jonson and Drummond: their Conversations: A few remarks on an 18th century Forgery*, by C. L. Stainer. Oxford: Blackwell. pp. 80. 4s. 6d. net.

Similarly forged, according to Mr. Stainer, are the letters between Jonson (and Drayton) and Drummond also included in this folio. Mr. Stainer argues that Jonson's visit to Drummond and their subsequent correspondence are 'faked', and that the two men never met owing to Drummond's alleged absence from Scotland at the time. It is sufficient to point out in answer—as Mr. Simpson does with crushing effect in *The Genuineness of the Drummond Conversations* (*R. E. S.*, Jan. 1926)—that of the 'forged' letters, one is still preserved, in two drafts, in Drummond's own autograph, and another is in part similarly extant, and was printed in full in 1655, six years after Drummond's death. Any one who thinks that further confutation of Mr. Stainer's thesis is needed may be referred to Mr. Simpson's article.

Two notes by Mr. F. A. Pottle on *The Staple of News* in *M. L. N.* (April) bear upon Jonson's relations with Drummond. The line 'Look to me, wit, and look to my wit' (I. i. 3) is shown to be a parody of the first line of Donne's *Elegy upon the Untimely Death of the Incomparable Prince Henry*, which Jonson told Drummond that Donne had written 'to match Sir Ed: Herbert in obscureness'. And three inventions mentioned in III. ii. 54 ff., a burning glass to fire a fleet out at sea, an 'invisible eel' to sink shipping, and a machine producing perpetual motion are shown to have counterparts in a letter patent granted to Drummond in 1626, the year that the play was presented at Court.

In the same periodical (Nov.) Mr. J. F. Enders has a note on the puzzling word 'Naometry' in III. i of the same play. It is from *Naometria*, the title of a work by the German antiquary and mystic Simon Studin, completed in 1604. This was never printed, but was preserved at Stuttgart in two MSS. Jonson cannot have seen it, but some of the extreme Protestants on the Continent doubtless conveyed part of its message to the 'saints' in England, and this must have come to Ben's ears. He uses the word to signify 'the measuring of the temple', a mystic measurement, with reference to Revelation, chap. xi (*not* x, as given in the Note), verse 1. As A. E. Waite has shown in *The Brotherhood of the Holy Cross* (1924), *Naometria* is important for the study of Rosicrucianism.

In 1921, in his collection of seventeenth-century verse, *A Little Ark*, Mr. Thorn-Drury (as was noted in *The Year's Work*, vol. ii,

p. 88) printed from a seventeenth-century MS. a first draft of Ben Jonson's Preludium to the Epodes included first in *Love's Martyr* and later in *The Forrest*. This had apparently escaped Sir Israel Gollancz's notice when in an article on *Ben Jonson's Ode to 'The Phoenix and the Turtle'* (*T.L.S.*, 8th Oct.) he printed from the Salusbury MS. in the National Library of Wales a version virtually the same as that made known by Mr. Thorn-Drury. There are, however, differences of spelling between the two versions, and a difference of reading in l. 5, where Mr. Thorn-Drury's MS. seems to be correct.

Sir Israel also prints from the Salusbury MS. a hitherto unknown tribute to Jonson by Sir Thomas Salusbury, which was not included in *Jonsonus Virbius*. This *Elegie Meant Vpon the Death of Ben: Johnson* consists of thirty-two lines in rhymed couplets, beginning

Shall I alone spare paper? in an age
when euerie pen shedds inke, to swell a page
in Johnson's Elegies?

The volume on *Ben Jonson's Art*¹⁵ by Miss Dunn is a study of the dramatist in relation to his social and cultural background. Miss Dunn seeks to show that Jonson does not merely mirror the details of the life of his time, but that with 'conscious artistry' he turned his impressions of them 'now into corrective satire, now into philosophical comment'. She examines in turn, as viewed through this perspective, the representation in Jonson's plays and poems of the Court, the Stage, the world of scholarship, and the general social life of the period. In the chapter dealing with the Stage she analyses Ben's theories of dramatic technique, and draws an unexpected and interesting parallel. 'In his attitude and method he is like Wordsworth, who reacted strongly from the state of letters as he found it and set about correcting it, not only by his works, but by formal statement of poetic theory in long and carefully composed prefaces.' She challenges criticism by her statement that 'there was little of the pedant in Jonson', but her discussion of his attitude to scholarship is one of the most informative sections of her book. The work is a

¹⁵ *Ben Jonson's Art: Elizabethan Life and Literature as reflected therein*, by Esther C. Dunn. Smith College, Northampton (Mass.). pp. xviii + 159.

favourable example of a Ph.D. thesis and appears in attractive form, with portraits of Jonson and Camden from the Plimpton collection, but is disfigured by curious spelling misprints.

The Tercentenary of John Fletcher has produced fewer critical echoes than might have been expected. An article in *T. L. S.* (20th Aug.) singles him out as a man of his age who 'delighted the public by catching its taste at the very moment'. This judgement is supported and illustrated from a number of the plays, variously estimated from fifteen to eleven, which modern scholarship has assigned to him alone, including in different types *The Faithful Shepherdess*, *Bonduca* and *Valentinian*, *The Humorous Lieutenant*, and *The Island Princess*. He is also recognized as 'a true poet in his songs'.

Various attempts by writers in *N. and Q.* to explain 'F. S.' in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, Act I, were noted in the *Year's Work*, vol. v, p. 143. Mr. Robert Willington in *S. in Ph.* (April) makes another, not very happy, shot by suggesting 'Fakes and Slumboes', given in dictionaries of slang as a theatrical term for 'properties'.

In *N. and Q.* (12th Sept.) Mr. Dugdale Sykes supports from internal evidence *Thomas Heywood's Authorship of 'King Edward IV'*, the two Parts of which were published in 1600. Hobs and Rufford in *Edward IV* have their counterparts in Hobson and Benningfield in Heywood's *If You Know not Me*, and Shore's wife bears the stamp of the author of *A Woman Kill'd with Kindness*. Correspondences of vocabulary and phrasing, e.g. 'quittance' used as a verb, and 'releasement', are also cited from *Edward IV* and Heywood's undoubted plays.

In *Anglica (Palaestra, 148)* Dr. Greg has an article on '*The Escapes of Jupiter*': an autograph play of Thomas Heywood. He gives this title, taken from the blank verso of the last leaf, to the piece included in Egerton MS. 1994, which has hitherto been called by the name at the beginning, *Calisto*. Dr. Greg's suggested title certainly covers more of the contents of the play, which consists of scenes, somewhat revised, from Heywood's *The Golden Age* and *The Silver Age*. He gives convincing reasons for regarding the MS. (which is in the same atrocious hand as

The Captives which precedes it in the same volume) as autograph, and for dating *The Escapes of Jupiter* later than *The Golden Age* and *The Silver Age*. He finally points out that the play 'adds one more to the indubitable instances of revision to be taken into account by those who seek to minimize the practice; on the other hand, it lends no support to the hypothesis of continuous copy'.

In *T. L. S.* (17th Dec.) Mr. E. H. C. Oliphant makes out a good case for assigning *The Bloodie Banquet* (usually attributed to Thomas Drew) to the joint hands of Dekker and Middleton. He points out that the quarto of the play gives 'T; D.' as the author; that a seventeenth-century catalogue ascribed it to Thomas Barker, a misprint for Dekker; and that in the Catalogue of Sheldon's collection of plays compiled by Anthony Wood it is grouped among Dekker's works. Dekker is known to have collaborated with Middleton at least twice, and their joint work, *The Honest Whore*, Part I, was published under the former's name only. Mr. Oliphant is of opinion that this happened also with *The Bloodie Banquet*. He sees signs of Middleton's hand in the vocabulary, the versification, and the management of the Tethys story. Quotations are given in support of these points. In *T. L. S.* (24th Dec.) Dr. Greg states that the date of the quarto, as to which Mr. Oliphant was doubtful, is 1639, and that a number of copies of it are extant.

In *Anglia* (Jan.) Miss Mildred C. Struble of the University of Southern California deals with *The Indebtedness of Ford's 'Perkin Warbeck' to Gainsford*. It has hitherto been held that Ford's chief source was Bacon's *History of King Henry the Seventh*, 1622, and that he also drew upon Halle's and Holinshed's *Chronicles*, and probably Speed's *History of Great Britain* (1611). Miss Struble shows that in addition to these works Ford used Gainsford's *True and Wonderful History of Perkin Warbeck* (1618), which has been reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*. Miss Struble is of opinion that Ford 'had before him as he wrote the histories of both Bacon and Gainsford' and that he has 'drawn therefrom about equally'. In illustration she quotes a number of lines from the play and the corresponding passages in Gainsford's *History*. A consideration of these leaves

no doubt that she has proved her case. And her analysis of speeches in *Perkin Warbeck* where Ford has skilfully dovetailed materials from more than one source adds something to his dramaturgical reputation.

Ford's '*Tis Pity She's a Whore* and *Love's Sacrifice* have been translated into French prose by M. Georges Pillement, as has Cyril Tourneur's *The Atheist's Tragedy*, by MM. Camille Cé and Henri Servajean.¹⁶

In *R. E. S.* (July) Professor Moore Smith discusses *The Canon of Randolph's Dramatic Works*. The authenticity of *Aristippus*, *The Conceited Peddler*, *The Jealous Lovers*, *The Muses Looking-Glass*, and *Amyntas* is beyond doubt. As to *Hey for Honesty*, translated from the *Plutus* by Randolph, augmented and published by F. J. (1651), Dr. Moore Smith decides that 'in spite of insertions by F. J. on almost every page, there can be no doubt that the substratum is Randolph's work. Many phrases in it can be paralleled from his plays and poems, and local allusions show that it was originally written as a Cambridge 'show'.

The Latin comedy *Cornelianum Dolium* presents greater difficulty. When published by Thomas Harper in 1638 he ascribed it 'T. R. ingeniosissimo huius aevi Heliconio'. But except that it has two *motifs* which are also employed in *The Jealous Lovers* the Latin comedy does not show much likeness to Randolph's undoubted works. On the other hand, in *Notes and Queries*, ser. 2, vol. xii, Mr. J. Crossley gave grounds for assigning the play to Richard Braithwait, and Dr. Moore Smith adds further parallels between it and Braithwait's writings. He suggests that Randolph at least drafted the play, if he did not sketch the contents of the different scenes, and that afterwards Braithwait took it over, and dedicated it in Randolph's name to his own patron Sir Alexander Radcliffe.

Finally, Dr. Moore Smith claims for Randolph the *Praeludium*, a prologue to a play, preserved in B. M. Add. MS. 37425.

¹⁶ Paris: *La Renaissance du Livre*. 15 f. and 20 f.

VIII

THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD

POETRY AND PROSE

[By H. J. C. GRIERSON and A. MELVILLE CLARK]

THE most notable contribution of 1925 to the study of Spenser is Professor W. J. Renwick's volume.¹ As the title indicates, he approaches Spenser's poetry from a definite angle, considering it in relation to the poetic theory and practice of the Renaissance, 'what a very important poet was trying to do and why he was trying to do that and not something else'. 'In the formation of Spenser's art, the central fact, after his time and nationality, and as the corollary to these, is his scholarly training . . . We must regard his work as part of a cultured movement of European extent, as fruit of general and not mere personal experience.' Professor Renwick's thesis links Spenser's work to the revived enthusiasm for the vernaculars which followed the first homage to Latin; the interest of the age in theories of poetry, the kinds and their relative values; their rhetoric and metrics; the theory of imitation; the claims of allegory; the supreme importance for the poet not only of art but of knowledge, of learning of all kinds and especially of philosophy. No poet of the Renaissance believed that

One impulse from a vernal wood
May teach us more of man,
Of moral evil and of good,
Than all the sages can.

Spenser's work has never been so consistently examined from this point of view and the result is fruitful of interest, if one feels that Spenser suffered as well as gained from the influence of theory and erudition. The allegory especially, and its modern expounders, are apt to make the head ache, which indeed, as

¹ *Edmund Spenser: An Essay on Renaissance Poetry*, by W. J. Renwick. Arnold. pp. vii + 198. 10s. 6d.

Dickens says, 'would seem to be Allegory's object always, more or less'.

In *The Text of Spenser's 'Complaints'* (M. L. R., Jan.) Bernard E. C. Davis directs attention to the superiority in many respects of the punctuation, spelling, and diction of the 1611 Folio, which is usually dismissed in favour of the 1591 Quarto as the work of later editors anxious to modernize the text. But as a result of the calling in of the Quarto and the existence of manuscript copies, some perhaps of later date and made in consequence of this suppression, it is not impossible that the 1611 editors had authority for their changes or for some of them. Some of their commendable alterations are noted by Mr. Davis, who is inclined to accept the F. reading in more doubtful cases where the Q., though inferior, is not unacceptable. The best of the Q. texts is that of *Mviopotmos*, 'a fact which may be connected with the separate date (1590) on the title-page, and which suggests that the proofs were either corrected by Spenser himself or at any rate treated with greater care than those of the other poems'. From this general question Mr. Davis goes on to the problem of the substantial alterations in 1611 in *The Ruins of Time* by the substitution of a general reference for a personal attack, obviously aimed at Burleigh, and to the omission in the Folio of *Mother Hubberd's Tale*. As the same charges are levelled against the Lord Treasurer in the *Tale* as in the first form of *The Ruins of Time*, 'there is good reason for placing the two texts together and for drawing similar conclusions as to the history of each'. Was it Spenser, then, who revised the one poem and cut out the other in a MS. copy, or did some one else alter and omit in deference to Burleigh and that before 1598, or, finally, were the changes made, presumably by the 1611 editors, to please Sir Robert Cecil? Mr. Davis very plausibly argues for the third solution. As the trouble over the *Complaints* had long blown over, there would be no difficulty in getting permission to reissue poems previously suppressed, 'except in the case of one satire and certain passages in another poem, which had originally been aimed at the father of the present Secretary of State'. With the death of Cecil in 1612 there was no reason at all for restraint, and *Mother Hubberd's Tale* was at once reprinted.

We cannot do better than quote Mr. Merritt Y. Hughes's summary of his acute article on *Spenser's Debt to the Greek Romances* (*Mod. Phil.*, Aug.): 'There is no evidence', he says, 'that Spenser derived any element of his poetry directly from any Greek romance. Four motifs in the story of Pastorella derive ultimately from Longus or Heliodorus, but all of them had become literary commonplaces when Spenser wrote. The use that he makes of them relates him as much to Ariosto, Tasso, Guarini, and Sidney as it does to the ancient romancers.' This is the more convincing part of the article and makes abundantly clear the complexity of the problem. The further attempt to see in Spenser's pictorial effects the influence direct or indirect of Longus or Achilles Tatius requires more elaboration than Mr. Hughes allows himself. As for the moral purpose of the *Faerie Queene*, Spenser had more likely guides than Heliodorus, even though that romancer does formally discuss all the Spenserian virtues with the exception of holiness.

In an interesting article on *Spenser and Boiardo* (*P. M. L. A.*, xl) Mr. Harold H. Blanchard shows from consideration of a number of details in different episodes that Spenser's knowledge of the Italian romantic epics included not only Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* and Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, as has been well established, but also the *Orlando Innamorato* of Boiardo. Mr. Blanchard has a similar study, *Imitations from Tasso in the Faerie Queene*, in *S. in Ph.* (April).

Miss Susannah J. McMurphy's Washington dissertation on *Spenser's Use of Ariosto for Allegory* describes the curious sixteenth-century allegorical interpretations of Ariosto, especially that of Fornari (1549), and explains certain parallels between Ariosto and Spenser.

Mr. F. F. Covington's article on *Spenser's Use of Irish History in the 'Veue of the Present State of Ireland'*² breaks virgin soil: his explorations also suggested his *Note on 'Faerie Queene'*, iv. iii. 27 (*M. L. N.*, April), in which passage he sees one of the earliest specific references to Spenser's Irish environment, and his *Spenser and Alexander Neckham* (*S. in Ph.*, April), in which he notes a passage in Neckham's *De Laudibus* on several of the Irish rivers in Spenser. Mr. R. A. Law's *Tripartite Gaul in the*

² In *Univ. of Texas Bulletin: Studies in English*, iv (1924).

*Story of King Leir*³ attempts an interpretation of difficult phrases in Spenser and Shakespeare. A subject which has received considerable attention from Professor Renwick, both in his *Edmund Spenser* and in his earlier article on *The Critical Origins of Spenser's Diction*,⁴ is reviewed from a different angle by Mr. Roscoe E. Parker, in his *Spenser's Language and the Pastoral Tradition* (*Language*, Sept.). M. Saurat's essay on Spenser's philosophy, noticed last year, and the German dissertation of Herr Bauer⁵ deserve a welcome as indications of a rather belated continental interest in one of our greatest poets.

No more admirable series has ever been offered to the student of the Elizabethan period than the Tudor Translations. The three additions made last year to the series are all eminently desirable. The most important, both in size and as a document in literary history, is the translation of Aleman's *Guzman de Alfarache* by James Mabbe, under the title of *The Rogue* (1623).⁶ The introduction was the last work of the late James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, and a short note, by the general editor of the series, on that great Spanish scholar is prefixed to the introduction. The latter has the scholarly and literary distinction of all his work, equally interesting on Aleman and on Mabbe, who, 'with the exception of Edward Fitzgerald, has no rival in his special field. He refuses to be servilely bound to the *verbum verbo*, but he never fails in fearless loyalty to his author. In the first place he possesses that essential qualification, a mastery of the language he translates out of and that he translates into; he has an almost uncanny perception of the meaning which underlies his author's words; he is gifted with a capacity for taking pains bordering on genius; and, finally, he holds his art in something not unlike veneration.' Fitzmaurice-Kelly brings out the interesting fact that Mabbe 'rendered

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ See *The Year's Work*, vol. iii, pp. 105-6.

⁵ *Die Iren . . . in der Darstellung von Edm. Spenser*, von R. Bauer. Halle. pp. 240.

⁶ *The Rogue, or the Life of Guzman de Alfarache*: Written in Spanish by Matheo Aleman, and done into English by James Mabbe, anno 1623. With an Introduction by James Fitzmaurice-Kelly. Vol. i, pp. xxxvi + 269; vol. ii, pp. 291; vol. iii, pp. 358; vol. iv, pp. 353. Constable. £5 5s.

his Second Part not from the original Spanish, but from an Italian translation', but 'was able at some time to have access, either directly or indirectly, to the Spanish text and to a French translation'. The establishment of this fact shows with what scholarship and care the work of editing has been carried out.

The life of George Pettie, translator of Stefano Guazzo's *La Civile Conversatione*,⁷ is, like that of most of his literary contemporaries, all but unknown, and Sir Edward Sullivan is able to throw no additional light on it. Our knowledge, such as it is, is chiefly derived from his grand-nephew Anthony Wood's account, which says that Pettie 'at length became excellent for his passionate penning of amorous stories equal for poetical invention with his dear friend William Gager, and as much commended for his neat stile as any of his time'. These commendable tales are, however, lost, and not to be confused with *The Petite Palace of Pettie his Pleasure*, declared by his kinsman 'more fit to be read by a schoolboy, or rustical amoretto, than by a gent. of mode or language'. Nevertheless, it was the success of his *Palace of Pleasure* that induced him 'to countervayle my former Vanitie, with some formal gravitie', that is, with his translation of Books I-III of Guazzo's courtesy-book. This work, published in Italy in 1574, was translated into French by Gabriel Chappuys and by Belleforest, both versions appearing in 1579. Pettie must have procured the French of Chappuys, on which with some consultation of the enlarged Italian text of 1580 he based his rendering, almost as soon as it appeared, for within a few months he forestalled possible rivals by having his proposed translation licensed (*S. R.*, November 11, 1579) even before it was begun: his work was not ready for publication till February 27, 1580/1. The fourth book of the *Civil Conversation*, which is almost a didactic comedy illustrating the precepts of the other three, was englished in 1586 by Bartholomew Young, the translator of Montemayor's *Diana*. As Sir Edward Sullivan says in his scholarly introduction, Guazzo was writing in 'the sad

⁷ *The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo: The First Three Books translated by George Pettie, anno 1581, and the Fourth by Barth. Young, anno 1586. With an Introduction by Sir Edward Sullivan, Bart. Constable. 2 vols. pp. xcii+249 and 216. 45s.*

decline of good taste in literature which had set in towards the closing years of the sixteenth century'; but Pettie completely does away the offences 'by his fine Elizabethan vivacity and grace'. His prose here, if not in his Euphuistic *Palace of Pleasure*, is all that his editor claims for it, 'simple and stately in expression; dignified without any trace of pedantry, and colloquial without vulgarity'. Young, too, whose tedious verses from Montemayor fill too much of *England's Helicon*, is here at his best. Not the least valuable section of an excellent introduction is devoted to a long series of parallel passages to show Shakespeare's intimate knowledge of the book. Though many of these be dismissed as accidental, more than enough would remain to prove Sir Edward Sullivan's contention and to illustrate the place Sir Walter Raleigh in his introduction to Hoby's *Courtier* claimed for 'Castiglione, Bembo, Aretino, Guazzo, Pasquier, Speroni, and many others of those who shaped the dialogue for argumentative and dramatic purposes . . . in the genealogy of English Comedy'. We question, however, whether an allusion to Guazzo's work in the 1631 edition of Stow's *Annals* (Appendix by Edmund Howes, 1085) can be taken as evidence of public interest at that late date. In fact the passage, which by the way really occurs in Sir George Buck's *Third University of England*, written for Howe's continuation of Stow, is found in the 1615 or first edition (p. 987) as well as in that of 1631. As a coda to this paragraph Miss Ruth Kelso's article, *Sixteenth Century Definitions of the Gentleman in England* (*J.E.G.P.*, July) may be mentioned: it will serve to draw attention to the need of investigating thoroughly the very great influence of the courtesy-books.

One of the most curious, but by no means the least entertaining, of the Tudor Translations is John Frampton's version of Nicholas Monardes's pharmacopoeia of America.⁸ We know a considerable amount concerning this intelligent physician of Seville, who was practising there during a period of great pros-

⁸ *Joyfull Newes out of the Newe Found Worlde*, written in Spanish by Nicholas Monardes, Physician of Seville, and englished by John Frampton, merchant, anno 1577. With an Introduction by Stephen Gaselee. Constable. 2 vols. pp. xxviii + 177 and 188. 36s.

perity and exhilaration, when the wealth of the New World was pouring in. 'New medicines, still untried in Europe, but by reputation in the Indies of great and almost magical potency, were constantly being placed before him, with stories of their curative virtue.' He writes in consequence with a fresh and quaint enthusiasm, which is communicated to his translator, of excellent gums and marvellous herbs, 'Of the Sarcaparilla' and 'Of saint Elens Bedes', 'Of the Cloud of Drago', 'Of the Armadillo', 'Of a Tree which doth shewe whether one shall live or die', and 'Of the Tabaco, and of his great vertues', whether for plasters or as a drug to induce profound sleep, or to stay hunger, or to cure a multitude of diseases. Frampton supplements Monardes's description of this precious weed, probably, though Mr. Gaselee says the addition is Frampton's own, from a French account of 'Nicotiane'. The plant was so called in France 'of the name of hym that gave the first intelligence thereof into this Realme', that is Jean Nicot, French Ambassador at Lisbon. As *Joyful News* was published in 1577, only nine years before Ralph Lane, said to have been the first English smoker, and Sir Francis Drake brought the first smoking implements to this country and initiated Sir Walter Raleigh into the mystery, it is not fanciful to suppose, as Mr. Gaselee says, that Frampton's work paved the way for the use of tobacco in England. The first three books of this translation appeared in 1577: all the rest except thirteen pages added in the 1596 edition was published with the first three books again in 1580. Mr. Gaselee is inclined to connect Frampton with the Framptons of Moreton in Dorset, who produced several other merchant-adventurers: the copy used in setting up this edition had once belonged to a Dorsetshire Frampton. John had been a merchant in Spain, and on his return to England busied himself with translating, giving us, in addition to the one under discussion, our first version of Marco Polo and two other Spanish works on travel and navigation, all dedicated, like his *Joyful News*, to Sir Edward Dyer.

Another reprint of a seventeenth-century translation, Francis Hickes's selection from Lucian,⁹ foreshadows the lifeless versions

⁹ *Certain Select Dialogues of Lucian, together with his True History*: Translated from the Greek into English by Francis Hickes, 1634. Guy Chapman. pp. xix + 187. 3s. 6d.

of the eighteenth century rather than recalls the happy valiancy of earlier translators. He was, however, the first to publish a selection from an author not without influence on earlier English literature: Heywood's verse renderings, which are even duller, did not appear till 1637.

Mr. B. M. Ward, in *The Authorship of 'The Arte of English Poesie'* (*R. E. S.*, July), proves himself a skilful literary detective. In the first section of his essay he examines *The Case for Puttenham*, that is to say Richard Puttenham, for his younger brother George can be acquitted at once. Perhaps the first allusion to the anonymous critic was in Harington's *Apology for Poetry*, 1591, where he is referred to as 'the unknown godfather' and 'the same Ignoto', although Harington was quite aware of the ascription to Puttenham.¹⁰ In 1614 Puttenham's name was foisted by Camden (who, however, cites *The Arte* as anonymous) into Carew's *Excellency of the English Tongue*, in the second edition of his *Remains*. Bolton's attribution the same year can be dismissed as mere hearsay. And in any case the facts of Puttenham's life, including his continuous imprisonment from 1583-97, in no respect coincide with the autobiographical details in the book itself. The real author of this 'defence of poets and poetry against the Puritan attacks' must have been a courtier who either could not or would not bring it out under his own name and himself spread the rumour of Puttenham's authorship. In Part II Mr. Ward lays down fourteen points to which *The Unknown Author* must be shown to conform, and in Part III he proves that *John, Lord Lumley, 1532-1609*, conforms to every one of these requirements. Mr. Ward finishes with the triumphant question which needs no answer, 'Is he guilty or not guilty?'

Belated and necessarily brief mention may be made at this point of two works which bear on Elizabethan and seventeenth-century criticism: they are Mr. D. L. Clark's *Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance*¹¹ and Mr. Lane Cooper's *The Poetics of Aristotle: Its Meaning and Influence*.¹²

¹⁰ See article by Charles Hughes in *N. and Q.*, 1910, i, 404.

¹¹ *Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance*, by Donald L. Clark. New York: Columbia University Press, 1924. pp. 160. \$2.50.

¹² *The Poetics of Aristotle: Its Meaning and Influence* (Our Debt to Greece and Rome, vi), by Lane Cooper. New York: Jones, Marshall, 1923. pp. x + 157.

Until Professor Campagnac put into our hands this admirable edition ¹³ we could scarcely be aware how valuable Mulcaster's work was and how excellent were its editor's reasons for bringing it forth from its long oblivion. Yet the first head-master of the Merchant Taylors' School was not entirely neglected: in 1888 the late R. H. Quick published the *Positions, wherein those Primitive Circumstances be examined which are necessary for the Training up of Children, either for their skill in their book, or health in their body*, with an account of the author in which he discussed the question of Shakespeare's knowledge of and attitude to Mulcaster; and some twenty years ago Mr. James Oliphant published selections from both the *Elementarie* and the *Positions*, together with a critical estimate. Mr. Campagnac in his introduction naturally and rightly emphasizes Mulcaster's importance in the history of English education. It is, as has been said, like stepping into a different world to pass from Ascham, sensible though he was, to Mulcaster, who to Ascham's sense added great practical knowledge and the realization that the problems of education extended to all the speculative sciences. He seems to have been, like all innovators, regarded as an oddity in his day, but his books abundantly testify to his shrewdness and originality. He was a keen advocate of universal elementary education and of more advanced training for those who were capable of it in grammar-schools and universities: he insisted on a sound and suitable education for girls, on the training of teachers, on conferences of teachers, on the desirability of including drawing, music, and dancing in the curriculum of a generous education, and on the prime importance of the development of the body as well as of the mind. Perhaps the most interesting feature of his work is his faith, clumsily expressed though it be, in the vernacular, his assurance that English is a tongue not inferior to Latin. Both in the *Positions* and in the *Elementarie* he waxes enthusiastic on this favourite theme, and it seems more than likely that to Mulcaster is ultimately due, as has been suggested by Professor Renwick, his pupil Spenser's experiments in the enrichment of the vernacular. Mr. Campagnac writes with

¹³ *Mulcaster's Elementarie*. Ed. by E. T. Campagnac. O.U.P. pp. xxiv + (16) + 292. 10s. 6d.

a restrained but genuine admiration for his author: he does not attempt an exposition of Mulcaster's method, which, for all its originator's uncouthness of utterance, is clearly enough explained in the text: he is rather concerned to persuade us to approach him sympathetically. Mulcaster is also the theme of Mr. F. M. Osborne's *An Elizabethan Schoolmaster* (*Dublin Review*, Jan.-March).

Other remnants of Elizabethan pedagogy have been pillaged with charming results by Miss St. Clare Byrne to give us a realistic picture of *The Elizabethan Home*.¹⁴ Her extracts are from the following manuals of conversation by two Huguenot refugees, *The French Littleton*, 1566; *The French Schoolmaster*, 1573; and *Campo di Fior or else the Flowery Field of Four Languages*, 1583, all by Claudius Hollyband (Sainsliens); and *The French Garden for English Ladies and Gentlewomen to walk in*, 1605, by Peter Erondell.

Every anthology is a personal document, and Mr. Arthur Symons's selection from the poetry of Elizabethan poets born before 1570¹⁵ is a witness to his sure and purged taste. He has proceeded in his choice 'as if no other anthology had ever been made': he has therefore not rejected the common as if it were unclean to make room for less familiar beauties, and yet at the same time he has come with a fresh mind to his task and gives us one or two poems not often encountered. A still greater advantage of his method is that the collection is representative of the greatest verse of the age without regard to the number of authors represented; that is to say, it is not an attempt to supply specimens of all the lyrists, but to give only the best. The preface is an urbane essay on the age which produced the lyrics.

Mr. Ault's excellent anthology of Elizabethan lyrics¹⁶ is, he claims, 'compiled on a new plan. Its purpose is to present the

¹⁴ *The Elizabethan Home*, discovered in *Two Dialogues* by C. Hollyband and P. Erondell, ed. by M. St. Clare Byrne. (Haslewood Books.) Etchells & Macdonald. pp. xiv + 95. 12s. 6d.

¹⁵ *A Sixteenth-Century Anthology*, ed. by Arthur Symons. Blackie. pp. xvi + 468. 2s. 6d.

¹⁶ *Elizabethan Lyrics*, from the Original Texts. Chosen, edited, and arranged by Norman Ault. Longmans. pp. xv + 536. 10s. 6d.

lyric poetry of the Elizabethan Age as a living literary movement the evolution of which can best be seen . . . when their collective work is viewed chronologically and as an organic whole.' The poems are thus arranged, so far as can be ascertained 'year by year according to the dates at which each poem first became known to the public for whom the author wrote'. The collection begins with Wyatt and extends to 1620. This is probably the best arrangement for the student. It is not quite so interesting for the general reader as that of Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch's *Golden Pomp*, in which the selection is based on the recurrent themes beginning with spring and morning songs and ending with the more reflective songs and those inspired by the thought of death. Mr. Ault has aimed at securing the most accurate texts; he has printed from MS. sources several poems for the first time; and he has appended some learned and interesting notes. The spelling is modernized, but with some regard to differences of pronunciation. At p. 22, *Love me again*, one suspects the first lines should read:

Alas, dear heart! what hap had I
If that I might your grace attain!

It is difficult to make sense of 'what hope had I'. The final impression of the whole is that there was very little development after all, and that with all its charm of phrase and music the Elizabethan lyric is somewhat empty. One can realize how Donne troubled the waters.

Mrs. Rohde's *Old-World Pleasaunce*¹⁷ is a selection both of quaint prose and odd verse from the literature, chiefly of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, on orchards, gardens, gardeners, herbs, bees, sundials, and the like. Mrs. Rohde has drawn her matter from many very rare, but, as her selection shows, often very charming, books, and includes among her garden calendars what is practically a reprint of Matthew Stevenson's *Twelve Months or a pleasant and profitable discourse of every action, whether of Labour or Recreation, proper to each particular Month*, a delightful work incorporating Nicholas Breton's *Fantastics*. Mrs. Rohde's introduction is excellent.

¹⁷ *The Old-World Pleasaunce: An Anthology*, by Eleanour Sinclair Rohde. Jenkins. pp. 331. 5s.

In addition to the above anthologies made in our own day and for the taste of to-day we have to record reprints of two Elizabethan collections. By an oversight we omitted to call attention last year to the first of them, Professor Hyder Rollins's edition of *A Handfull of Pleasant Delights*.¹⁸ Preserved in a unique copy, this work has been previously edited by Park (*Heliconia*, 1815), Crossley (*Spenser Society*, 1871), and Arber (*English Scholar's Library*, 1878). These are all rare and none is wholly satisfactory. Professor Rollins has reproduced the original 'line for line, page for page' with a minimum of editorial correction. In the introduction he has established the important fact that the work had first appeared in 1566 though the edition preserved is that of 1584. In the notes he has supplied accurate information on the tunes, authors, previous publications, and other subjects. Moreover Dr. Rollins has, for the first time, set the contents in their proper light, not as crude examples of the artistic lyric, but as what they are, popular 'ballads, all of which had, before their collection in that miscellany, been printed on broadsides'. No one was so well fitted to edit these old songs aright as Dr. Rollins with his knowledge, wide and deep, of the popular broadside ballads. As a part of the literary background of Shakespeare's mind they deserve study. Dr. Rollins's just issued edition of *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions* (1578) will be noticed later. A variorum edition of *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1576) is in the press. The volumes are beautifully printed and got up.

More readable is the new *England's Helicon*,¹⁹ a page for page reprint preserving even the type of the original and its arrangement on the page. The editor in his introduction and notes discusses some of the problems of the book, suggests sources, and supplies the variant readings. Bullen had been quite certain that not John Bodenham but A. B., author of the prefatory sonnet to Bodenham and of the prose dedication to Nicholas Wanton and George Faucet, was the original editor.

¹⁸ *A Handfull of Pleasant Delights* (1584), by Clement Robinson and Divers Others, ed. by Hyder E. Rollins. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press; London: O.U.P. 1924. pp. xix + 145. 15s. net.

¹⁹ *England's Helicon*: Reprinted from the edition of 1600 with additional poems from the edition of 1614. (Haslewood Books.) Etchells & Macdonald. pp. ix + 256. 21s.

The claim of Bodenham, however, is not so confidently dismissed by Mr. Macdonald, though he is inclined to accept Mr. J. W. Hebel's suggestion in *Nicholas Ling and 'England's Helicon'* (*The Library*, Sept. 1924), that the editor was the L. N. of the address to the reader. This theory is supported by the fact that Nicholas Ling, the compiler of *Wits' Commonwealth*, also dedicated to Bodenham, would have access as Drayton's publisher to Drayton's manuscripts, from which several poems for the anthology were taken. Mr. Macdonald, too, points out Bullen's mistake in stating that the reply (sig. A. a 2 verso) to Marlowe's *Passionate Shepherd to his Love* was in the 1600 edition 'originally subscribed "S. W. R."' (i.e. Sir Walter Raleigh), but over these initials in the extant copies is pasted a slip, on which is printed "Ignoto" (see also Mr. Macdonald's reply in the *T. L. S.*, May 21, to Miss Henrietta C. Bartlett's letter of May 14); for in none of the four copies examined was there a cancel slip, though the John Rylands exemplar had after 'Ignoto' a contemporary manuscript note 'alias S^r Walt. Raleigh'. The appearance of this new edition was the occasion of a leading article in the *T. L. S.* (April 16) which estimates the literary value of the book and the pastoralism it illustrates: the reviewer quite justly admits that 'reading the book right through is a rather monotonous business. There are many delightful moments on the journey, and the road goes by many lovely places. But to get at them one has to pass through long stretches of sameness, emptiness, and artificiality', because the editor did not know 'the difference between pretty verses and great poetry'. He less reasonably deprecates 'the present fashion, which believes itself to be scholarly, of reproducing old books exactly as they first appeared with all their obvious faults retained', and expresses the opinion that Mr. Macdonald ought to have corrected ten times or more than ten times as often as he did the frequently 'absurd punctuation'. This provoked a correspondence in the *T. L. S.* (April 23 and 30, May 14) in which Mr. Macdonald, Miss M. St. Clare Byrne, and Miss Gwendolen Murphy defend the Elizabethan rhythmical and rhetorical punctuation, while the writer of the review urges the need of an examination of non-dramatic punctuation on the lines of Mr. Percy Simpson's work on the pointing of the dramatists.

A very useful addition to the *World's Manuals* has been made by Dr. Fellowes, who summarizes in it his long and loving researches into Tudor music.²⁰ In the first section of his book he considers the place of music in the Elizabethan home, in the second the origin, structure and development of the madrigal, in the third the words, and in the last the composers.

Equal care has been bestowed by Canon Blackie on a page for page and line for line reprint in modern equivalents of the original type of Henry Robarts's *Most Friendly Farewell to Sir Francis Drake*,²¹ written in 1585 on the occasion of the expedition to the West Indies. The author of these uninspired but hearty fourteeners has been identified with one Henrie Roberts, an esquire of the Queen and her envoy to 'Mully Hamet, Emperour of Morocco and King of Fes'. Be that as it may, this rare specimen of Elizabethan popular poetry is a very desirable curiosity.

Mr. Archer Taylor in his *Proverbia Britannica* has edited, with a preface, for the Washington University Studies (Humanistic Series, xi) James Gruterus's alphabetical collection of English proverbs from that philologist's *Florilegium ethico-politicum*, 1609-12. Of some value for the student of the by-paths of literature are Fräulein Heinrichs' dissertation on the history of autobiography in English from Chaucer to Milton,²² Mr. Whipple's *Martial and the English Epigram from Sir Thomas Wyatt to Ben Jonson*,²³ and Mr. C. W. Camp's *The Artisan in Elizabethan Literature*.²⁴

²⁰ *The English Madrigal*, by E. H. Fellowes. O.U.P. pp. 111. 3s. 6d.

²¹ *A Most Friendly Farewell to Sir Francis Drake*, by Henry Robarts. Transcribed by E. M. Blackie. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xii + (15). 8s. 6d.

²² *Geschichte der englischen Autobiographie von Chaucer bis Milton*, von Dorothea Heinrichs. Leipzig: Mayer und Müller. pp. 48.

²³ *Martial and the English Epigram from Sir Thomas Wyatt to Ben Jonson*, by T. K. Whipple. See above, p. 116.

²⁴ *The Artisan in Elizabethan Literature*, by R. W. Camp. New York. (Univ. of Columbia Studies in English and Comparative Literature.) pp. 177. 12s. 6d.

Several articles have appeared on the indebtedness of the Elizabethan lyrists to classical and Renaissance sources and to each other. Thus Mr. T. P. Harrison, Jr., writes on *Googe's 'Eglogs' and Montemayor's 'Diana'*.²⁵ Miss Janet G. Scott in *The Sources of Giles Fletcher's 'Licia'* (*M. L. R.*, April) traces a larger number of the sonnets of the elder Fletcher to various neo-Latinists, Angerianus, Gruterus, Marullus, Muretus, and others. In *The Passionate Shepherd and English Poetry* (*P. M. L. A.*, xl) Mr. R. S. Forsythe has in an exhaustive and exhausting study discussed the source and the influence of Marlowe's 'Come live with me and be my love' considered as an invitation to love in which 'various pastoral delights are listed'. The effect is rather overwhelming. Every poem which contains an invitation of any kind as an enumeration of delights pastoral or otherwise is 'listed' including '*L'Allegro* and '*Il Penseroso* and all poems that owe anything to these, besides Keats's *Endymion* and Shelley's *Epipsychidion*, &c., &c. The conclusion reached is 'that, no doubt, as long as there remain volumes of poetry unread by me there will be invitations to love unnoticed', and that for over three hundred and thirty years Marlowe's poem has exercised an influence, direct or indirect, equalled by that of few poems. Perhaps we should be content to leave it at that now, and not look for more 'invitations to love'. A similar piece of literary genealogy is Mr. John D. Rea's attempt (*Mod. Phil.*, May) to trace the ancestry of Jonson's lines, *This figure that thou here seest put*.

In another note, *The Pursuit of Shadows* (*N. and Q.*, March 7), Mr. Forsythe, while he accepts as the source of Jonson's *Follow a shadow, it still flies you* the Latin of Bartholomaeus Annulus, adds many parallel manipulations of the same fancy which Mr. J. B. Wainewright (March 21) traces to the classics. In a review of Bullen's *Elizabethans* (*M. L. R.*, Jan.) Professor Moore Smith prints an extract from one of Bullen's last letters in which he quotes the *Pervigilium Veneris* in illustration of the authenticity and perhaps origin of Fulke Greville's quaint phrase

For Cupid is a meadow god
And forceth none to kiss the rod

²⁵ In *University of Texas Bulletin : Studies in English*, v. pp. 209.

in his lines *Away with these self-loving lads*. As we noted last year²⁶ the imitations, &c. of Wotton's *You meaner beauties of the night* gave rise to a long correspondence: now Mr. G. B. Verity (*T. L. S.*, Feb. 26) wonders if Wotton himself remembered and echoed an epigram of Meleager. It is a relief to be able to record in this paragraph that, as Miss Janet G. Scott points out in *A Latin Version of a Sonnet of Constable's* (*M. L. R.*, Oct.), at least one continental writer, Dousa the younger, thought it worth while to translate an English sonnet.

Every lover of Drayton will welcome the beautiful reproduction of the first edition of *Endymion and Phæbe*.²⁷ Of the only early issue of this poem there are but three known copies—the one in the library of Cashel Cathedral was discovered just after Mr. Hebel's edition from the defective exemplar in the W. A. White library, Brooklyn, with a collation of the perfect copy in the library of Westminster Abbey (see the letter of Mr. Newport B. White in *T. L. S.*, April 2): Drayton never reprinted his graceful poem, and the only two previous reprints were put forth by Collier in limited editions in 1856 and 1870. In a pleasant introduction Mr. Hebel discusses the vogue of the mythological poem, Drayton's response to the fashion, his relation to his predecessors in this style, and the possibility of his having influenced Basse's *Urania, the Woman in the Moone*, 1612, and Keats's *Endymion*: he makes interesting remarks also on Drayton's self-acknowledged debt to Spenser, whose *Faerie Queene*, rather than the other mythological narratives, determined the treatment of the story and the tone of the poem. Drayton, however, did not learn from Spenser how to keep himself out of his romance, and in one incongruous passage defends himself against Davies's epigram *In Decium* for having in his sonnets made

his mistris march with men of warre
With title of tenth worthy.

Another personal passage is more important: after complimenting

²⁶ *The Year's Work*, vol. v, pp. 177-8.

²⁷ *Endimion and Phoebe: Ideas Latmus*, by Michael Drayton. Ed. by J. William Hebel. Oxford: Blackwell. pp. xviii + 52. 7s. 6d.

his friends, Colin (= Spenser), Musæus (= Daniel), and Goldey (= Lodge), he addresses the 'Sweet Nymph of *Ankor*', Anne Goodere, which is the last reference to her before her marriage. From the warmth and tenderness of the allusion Mr. Hebel supposes that it was written soon after Drayton's return from witnessing Sir Henry Goodere's will at Polesworth on January 26, 1594/5, only a few months before *Endymion and Phœbe* was published. As the sub-title is *Ideas Latmus* and the whole poem is intimately associated with Anne Goodere 'we begin to suspect that as Drayton imagined his story he identified Phoebe with Anne Goodere and Endimion with himself'. It is a matter for regret that Mr. Hebel does not consider more fully why Drayton never reissued the poem and instead made the unhappy alteration of it in *The Man in the Moon*. It can scarcely have been, as the editor suggests, because it fell flat: the compiler of *England's Parnassus* five years later quotes from it no less than eighteen times. Mr. R. R. Cawley in *Drayton's Use of Welsh History* (*S. in Ph.*, April) shows the indebtedness in parts of *Poly-olbion* to *A History of Wales*, 1584.

Drayton's fellow, Daniel, a reprint of whose *Defence of Rhyme* is noticed elsewhere, is considered along familiar lines by Miss M. S. Daniel in *An Elizabethan Wordsworth* (*Dublin Review*, Jan.-March). An influential but less poetical contemporary of Daniel and Drayton is the subject of a brief article by Herr Friedrich Brie, *Ein verschollenes Gedicht von Joshua Sylvester* (*Archiv*, xlviii). Last year we mentioned another German dissertation, Herr Hans Heidrich's *John Davies of Hereford* (? 1568-1618) *und sein Bild von Shakespeare's Umgebung*: Mr. McKerrow's review thereof (*R. E. S.*, April) is sufficiently important to require notice in this volume of *The Year's Work*. He points out how a reading of Herr Heidrich's careful tracking of sources gives a false impression of Davies's scholarship and shows how a characteristic passage of *Microcosmus* is not a mosaic of citations from the Greek philosophers mentioned in it, but a close paraphrase from James Sandford's translation of Cornelius Agrippa's *De Incertitudine et Vanitate Scientiarum*. The framework and a good deal of the matter of the same poem are derived from the second volume of de la

Primaudaye's *French Academy*, an English translation of which had appeared in 1594. Mr. McKerrow would identify the Dudley Norton referred to by Davies with Sir Dudley Norton, principal Secretary of State for Ireland in 1612, and Thomas Giles with the dancing-master of that name mentioned several times by Nichols.

Some light is thrown on the early life of George Chapman (*R. E. S.*, July) by Mr. G. Thorn-Drury's discovery in the Inner Temple Library of an inscribed copy of *The Crown of all Homer's Works, Batrachomyomachia* to Ralph Sadler, grandson of Sir Ralph the diplomatist (d. 1587) and son-in-law of Sir Edward Coke,

In desire to celebrate and eternise
The Noble Name and House
where his youthe
was initiate.

Standon was Sir Ralph Sadler's principal residence, but he had another manor at Temple Dinley in the hundred of Hitchin.

To volume xi of *Essays and Studies* Miss Janet Spens contributes an important paper on Chapman's *Ethical Thought* in which she considers the influence on Chapman of Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca, Plutarch, and the Hermetica, discussing as well the obscure beauties of *Ovid's Banquet of Sense* and *The Shadow of Night* and the heroes of Chapman's plays. And not without interest for Chapman the translator is M. Franck L. Schoell's *Un humaniste français oublié: Jean de Sponde (Revue du Seizième siècle, xii)*. In this connexion may be noticed the same writer's *L'hellénisme français en Angleterre à la fin de la Renaissance (Rev. de Litt. Comp., v)*, which would emphasize the dependence of English classical culture in the Renaissance on French. We may add to this paragraph the fact that in March 1925, Messrs. Sotheby sold to Dr. Rosenbach the unique *Oenone and Paris*, 1594, by T. H.: if one can judge from the quotations in the sale catalogue this early tribute to the popularity of *Venus and Adonis* may be the work of Thomas Heywood. Heywood's authorship of a translation of the *De Arte Amandi*, wrongly attributed to Marlowe by Douce in his note on *Romeo and*

Juliet, II. ii. 93-3, is shown by Mr. A. M. Clark in *A Marlowe Mystification* (T.L.S., July 16).

The scholar's debt to Mr. G. B. Harrison is a very real one for providing at a moderate price excellent texts of the most famous pamphlets of the Elizabethan period.²⁸ Nashe's *Pierce Penniless His Supplication to the Devil*, with its complaint of the plight of literary men and the dearth of patrons, its vigorous descriptions of the Seven Deadly Sins, its disquisition on the devil and hell after Georgius Pictorius, and its defence of plays, notably *Henry VI*, and of players, is an excellent example of its versatile author. *The English Roman Life* is the work of a much less attractive personality; nevertheless, Munday, 'a glib and facile liar' as Mr. Harrison calls him in the introduction, describes vividly his continental adventures. In introducing Marston's second group of satires the editor analyses the satirist's personality and sincerity, describing at the same time the melancholic humour, the prevalent mental affection or pose of the time, its causes and symptoms; and in his appendix Mr. Harrison puts forward the suggestion that Shakespeare's Jaques was a gentle satire of his melancholy contemporary. In the last of the Bodley Head quartos, printed in 1925, Mr. Harrison curiously prints Daniel's admirable reply to Campion before the pamphlet which provoked it.

The *Four Birds of Noah's Ark*, of which Mr. F. P. Wilson has provided a model reprint,²⁹ shows very clearly the 'Christianism' of Dekker's character; the prayers are naturally more subdued than his other work, but this small pamphlet is a not unfavourable example of his versatility and has won unstinted praise from Swinburne, who with respect to a devotional manual may

²⁸ Thomas Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse His Supplication to the Divell* (1592). pp. xiv + 138. Anthony Munday, *The English Romaine Lyfe* (1582). pp. x + (12) + 106. John Marston, *The Scourge of Villanie* (1599). pp. xvi + 126. Samuel Daniel, *A Defense of Rhyme against a Pamphlet entituled: Observations on the Art of English Poesie* (1603). pp. x + 46; and Thomas Campion, *Observations on the Art of English Poesy* (1602). pp. viii + 44. Ed. by G. B. Harrison. The Bodley Head Quartos. John Lane. 2s. 6d. each.

²⁹ *Foure Birds of Noahs Arke*, by Thomas Dekker. Ed. by F. P. Wilson. Oxford: Blackwell. pp. xv + 285. 7s. 6d.

be called an impartial judge. Mr. Wilson's other publication, *The Plague Pamphlets of Thomas Dekker*,³⁰ is of exceptional interest. Not only does it reprint for the first time from the earliest editions *The Wonderful Year* and *A Rod for Runaways* (which, by the way, Mr. Wilson pronounces in no way indebted, as has been once or twice affirmed, to Henry Petowe's very rare *Londoners Their Entertainment in the Country: Or the Whipping of Runaways*, 1604), but it adds four other works to Dekker's credit. The first of these, *The Meeting of Gallants* (1604), was reprinted by the Percy Society in 1841 without ascription. *News from Graves-end*, 1604, which shows indeed that Dekker had poetry enough for anything and some to spare for so unpromising a subject, was assigned to Dekker by Collier, a suggestion which won the support of Bullen in his article on Dekker in the *D.N.B.* But *London Look Back*, 1630, and *The Black Rod and the White Rod*, 1630, 'two lay-sermons' of Dekker's old age with flashes of his early fire, have been neither reprinted nor ascribed to any one. In the introduction Mr. Wilson marshals the evidence of authorship which, so far as the last three pamphlets are concerned, must carry conviction. We believe ourselves that Mr. Wilson has as successfully proved his case for *The Meeting of Gallants*; but he supplies as an alternative for doubters, the T. M. of *The Black Book* and *Father Hubbard's Tale*. The tone, however, is too genial and kindly for Middleton and the striking resemblances to his two pamphlets may well be due, as Mr. Wilson says, to the collaboration of Dekker and Middleton about the same time on *The Honest Whore*, and perhaps, during the prolonged plague, on non-dramatic work as well. The authorship of *London Look Back* involves the authorship of another anonymous piece, *Look Up and See Wonders*, 1628, from which a long passage is taken for the later work. Mr. Wilson's bibliography, and still more his notes, are extremely useful.

Besides these editions of the more popular Elizabethan prose we have to notice several articles and annotations in the same field. To begin with Lyly, Sir Edmund Gosse writes lightly and

³⁰ *The Plague Pamphlets of Thomas Dekker*, ed. by F. P. Wilson. O.U.P. pp. xl + 268. 9s.

charmingly on *Lyly and his Euphuism*³¹ and Mr. W. P. Mustard supplements his discussions of Lyly's sources in *M. L. N.*, 1919 and 1920, with *Notes on Lyly's 'Euphues'* (*M. L. N.*, Jan.). In his *Notes on Thomas Nashe's Works* (*M. L. N.*, Dec.) he gives a long list of parallels in classical and Renaissance literature to Nashe's pamphlets; and Mr. Ernest Kuhl (*T. L. S.*, Nov. 5), in addition to estimating Nashe's knowledge of Chaucer, suggests that the framework of *The Canterbury Tales* gave the later writer a hint for his *Choice of Valentines*, in which Mr. Kuhl notes a hitherto unrecorded citation from the *Wife of Bath's* prologue. *Anthony Munday's Romances of Chivalry* are the theme of Mr. Gerald R. Hayes's important paper in *The Library* (June).

In reply to M. R. Pruvost's inquiry (*T. L. S.*, Aug. 6) as to the whereabouts of the unique copy of Greene's *Gwydonius*, 1584, Mr. W. Roberts (Aug. 20) traces it to the Henry E. Huntington library; he can throw no light, however, on the 1587 edition from which Grosart reprinted the romance. M. Pruvost also draws attention to the fact that *The Debate between Folly and Love* in the 1587 *Gwydonius* is a translation of Louise Labé's major prose work: was it, he asks, included in the 1584 edition? On the strength of Dekker's having incorporated in his *Bellman of London* passages from Greene's *Art of Cony-catching*, Part II, Mr. G. V. Jones (*T. L. S.*, June 11) assumes rather rashly that Dekker really had 'far less intimate knowledge of the London underworld than he is generally thought to have had'. Greene himself is known to have plagiarized, among other works, *A Manifest Detection of Dice Play*, 1552, from which Mr. Jones asserts he got 'all he knew about card-cheating': was, then, even Greene's familiarity with the roguery he depicts less real than at first sight appears? and was there perhaps a common source from which both Greene and Dekker worked? Mr. R. B. McKerrow (*T. L. S.*, June 18) does not answer Mr. Jones's questions, but he corrects his remark that nobody had noticed the passages in Dekker parallel to Greene's pamphlet. They were pointed out indeed as early as 1905 by Oliphant Smeaton, and again by Mr. F. W. Chandler in 1907, and by Mr. F. Aydelotte in 1913.

³¹ *Silhouettes*, by Sir Edmund Gosse. Heinemann. pp. x + 413. 8s. 6d.

In fact Mr. Chandler calls *The Bellman* 'an unblushing plagiarism from several sources', which Mr. McKerrow briefly indicates.

In *Thomas Middleton's Early Non-Dramatic Work* (N. and Q., June 20) Mr. H. Dugdale Sykes has put to good use a memory tenacious of verbal echoes; and in consequence of his article no doubt can now remain, despite the hesitation in the matter of Dyce, Swinburne, W. C. Hazlitt, Fleay, and others, that *The Wisdom of Solomon Paraphrased*, 1597, *Micro-cynicon*, or *Six Snarling Satires*, 1599, *The Black Book*, 1604, and *Father Hubbard's Tale*, 1604, are the work of Middleton the dramatist, whose inequality in his authenticated works ought to have been remembered by those who denied him the above-named efforts. The earlier and the later non-dramatic verse of another playwright supply Mr. Bertram Lloyd with matter for two articles in *R.E.S.* (Jan. and April). He notes the differences in *An Inedited MS. of Ford's 'Fames Memoriall'* between the beautifully written and probably holograph Malone manuscript and the printed text. The Malone manuscript, which settles the spelling of the poet's name as 'Ford', not 'Forde' as Collier and others have held, seems to have been prepared for submission to Lady Rich before the poet, who was an unknown admirer, ventured to print it. If *A Contract of Love and Truth*, which is signed 'J. Foord' in Egerton MS. 2725, and which Mr. Lloyd prints in *An Unprinted Poem by John Ford* (?), be indeed by the dramatist, as seems likely, a few conclusions may be drawn from it as to his later years. Mr. Lloyd believes that the verses, which were in honour of the marriage of Sir Erasmus de la Fountaine and Mary, daughter of Viscount Campden, were written by the lawyer-dramatist for one of his clients.

A work of great interest for the historian even more than for the literary critic is Miss Joan Parkes's *Travel in England in the Seventeenth Century*.³² It describes with great fullness and copious extracts from the diaries and itineraries of English and foreign travellers what the English road was like and how the wayfaring man might err be he never so wise. Now, after nearly twenty years, the Hakluyt Society have completed the

³² *Travel in England in the Seventeenth Century*, by Joan Parkes. O.U.P. pp. xvi + 354. 21s.

magnificent edition of the travels of Peter Munday:³³ this fourth and last volume tells of his journeys in England and Wales, the Netherlands, Prussia, Poland, and Russia.

The essays in Mrs. Woolf's *Common Reader*³⁴ which fall within the limits of this section are filled with sound criticism and truth well expressed. The first, with its deliberately vague title of *The Elizabethan Lumber Room*, begins with Hakluyt and proceeds in a tangential manner from the effect of the voyages on Elizabethan life and poetry to the boyishness of Elizabethan prose as compared with the maturity of Montaigne, and the training it underwent in the drama and in the later writers of the period, especially Browne. The same discursive method is employed in the sympathetic review of the Navarre Society's edition of Cotton's Montaigne, and in the altogether admirable sketch of the eccentric but vital Duchess of Newcastle.

Messrs. Mead and Clift have brought together in a pleasant little volume, *Burton the Anatomist*,³⁵ a series of extracts from the *Anatomy of Melancholy* illustrative of his quaint and often interesting psychology. The preface and introduction are both very readable and the extracts well chosen.

In the 'Roadmaker' Series Mr. Israel Levine has produced an admirable short sketch of Bacon's life and thought.³⁶ Of his character he gives a brief but well-considered estimate, neither apologetic nor unduly harsh. 'He was more the possessor of intellect . . . than of heart. He does not seem to have been capable of any deep emotion whether of friendship or of hatred. His final misfortune does not seem to have had more than a very temporary effect on his outlook. He soon resumes the old political role . . . A permanent basis of firm convictions,

³³ *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. by Sir Richard Carnac Temple. Vol. iv. *Travels in Europe, 1639-47*. The Hakluyt Society. pp. xlv + 280 + xlv.

³⁴ *The Common Reader*, by Virginia Woolf. The Hogarth Press. pp. 305. 7s. 6d.

³⁵ *Burton the Anatomist*: Being extracts from the 'Anatomy of Melancholy', chosen to Interest the Psychologist in Every Man. Ed. by G. C. I. Mead and Rupert C. Clift. With a Preface by W. H. D. Rouse. pp. xxxv + 252. \$2.50.

³⁶ *Francis Bacon (1561-1626)*, by Israel Levine. Parsons. pp. 191. 4s. 6d.

cherished dearly and to be vindicated at all costs, was simply alien to Bacon's constitution . . . But a nature of this kind is evidently not capable of deliberate evil or malice either . . . Bacon's nature was fluid, facile, receptive; tolerant, compliant, open-minded', and such a nature, if not likely to make a man a staunch friend or in difficult time an upright and unbending statesman or judge, is exactly suited for the work of scientific investigation—realistic, open-minded, free from prepossessions or prejudices. Such was 'the wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind'. The life is followed by a brief but eminently clear statement of the shortcomings and the achievements of Bacon as a thinker. 'If not the maker, nor even the first discoverer, of the inductive road, he was certainly the first to appreciate its possibilities.' He first, as Spedding pointed out, 'conceived the project of making *systematic* the progress of science'. A short chapter deals with Bacon's literary work and style. Other studies of Bacon deserving note are Mr. F. G. Selby's *Bacon and Montaigne* (*Criterion*, Jan.) and Mr. Robert Hannah's careful essay on Bacon as an orator and rhetorician.³⁷

Less happy is Mr. Almonte C. Howell's endeavour in *S. in Ph.* (Jan.) to estimate Sir Thomas Browne as a scientist and his relation to seventeenth-century scientific thought. Browne, he contends, 'has the true sceptical attitude and shows himself a worthy disciple of Bacon and Descartes' and 'is indebted to Bacon for the underlying thought of the book, which he took from Bacon's famous passage in the *Advancement of Learning* on the idols of the tribe, cave, and market-place'. The parallel passages brought together suggest rather the profound difference between Browne's loose indications of the sources of error and Bacon's penetrating analysis of the limitations and perversions of human thought. The relation between Browne and Descartes is of the same general kind, showing the trend of men's minds towards scepticism regarding tradition in science, but Descartes's thought goes much farther. Browne's sceptical attitude towards the Copernican theory, on which Mr. Howell comments, is very characteristic. He was an amateur with a taste for queries and

³⁷ *Francis Bacon, the Political Orator*, by Robert Hannah. New York: The Century Co. pp. 229.

theories, but science would have moved very slowly if it had been left to such gentle speculators. He belongs to the history of literature rather than of science, was more akin to Burton than to Bacon or Boyle or Descartes. He had both curiosity and erudition, but his treatment of subjects is more discursive and suggestive than scientific.

In the same periodical the same author has an interesting note on Browne's knowledge of languages, in which he vindicates Browne's judgement of the relation of Spanish to Latin—'they [the Spaniards] are able to make a discourse completely consisting of grammatical Latin and Spanish wherein the Italian and French will be very much to seek'—against Dr. Johnson's criticism; but shares Johnson's scepticism as to the extent of Browne's knowledge of Anglo-Saxon.

The posthumous fame of seventeenth-century poets has provided Mr. Arthur H. Nethercot with abundant and by no means useless material. His earlier papers on the vicissitudes of Quarles's and Cowley's popularity were reviewed in *The Year's Work* for 1923 and 1924. He has followed these with two erudite essays on *The Reputation of the 'Metaphysical Poets' during the Age of Pope* (*Ph. Q.*, April) and *during the Age of Johnson and the 'Romantic Revival'* (*S. in Ph.*, Jan.).

*The Background of English Literature*³⁸ includes Professor Grierson's study of metaphysical poetry, originally published in his *Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems of the Seventeenth Century*. (See *The Year's Work*, vol. ii, pp. 113-14.)

Miss Kathleen M. Lea has many things worth saying on the subject of *Conceits* (*M. L. R.*, Oct.) and says them in an appropriately conceited style. The first good point she makes is that the conceit is an essentially natural accompaniment of excited intellection. 'It is the paradox of the conceit', she says, 'that it fails not because it is too artificial, but because it is too natural. . . . If our fingers were only as quick as our brains, and could symbolize upon papers those vaporous thoughts,

³⁸ *The Background of English Literature and other collected Essays and Addresses*, by H. J. C. Grierson. Chatto & Windus. pp. vii + 290. 7s. 6d.

those incipient metaphors and half-formed similes that float across our consciousness when we are attempting to describe an imaginative experience, we should show up pages as grossly conceited as some of the poetry . . . in the sixteenth and seventeenth century.' Secondly, Miss Lea does well to remind us that 'the majority of Elizabethan poems were not written for publication. . . . A sonnet in manuscript, rolled, sealed, and be-ribboned . . . is a thing to be written and presented with a flourish.' A very happy distinction is drawn between the Elizabethan and the metaphysical conceits: in the former are noticeable 'the over-emphasis of the simile, the tendency to digress upon the comparison', and frequent triteness, and in the latter the employment of 'the simile as a useful, not as an ornamental, device', under-emphasis of the simile, and a consequent abstruseness and rarity in the thought. Miss Lea's consideration of the influence of Petrarch and the Song of Songs, the prevalence of favourite conceits, and the management of conceits by individual poets, Spenser, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Donne, George Herbert, Vaughan, and Crashaw, is excellent.

Signor Mario Praz has written an extraordinarily learned and interesting work on John Donne and Richard Crashaw.³⁹ The book is intended primarily for Italian readers, but contains much of importance for English students. Praz traces the life of each of the poets; analyses and translates (with great accuracy and clearness) the chief poems; and finally shows how the work of each stands to the general movement of Marinism or Gongorism or whatever it be called in Latin countries. Nothing better has been written on the character of Donne's metaphysical lyric than Praz's analysis and comparison with a lyric by Campion (pp. 95-106), or on the difference between the metaphysical strain in Donne's poetry and that in Dante's, than what he says on pp. 99-101, and 107 ff. In the end Donne remains an independent figure, but on Crashaw's poetry Praz is able to throw a great deal of light from his familiarity with Italian and Latin poetry of the *Seicento*. The present writer has reviewed the book more fully in the *Review of English Studies*.

³⁹ *Seicentismo e Marinismo in Inghilterra: John Donne e Richard Crashaw*, di Mario Praz. Firenze: Società An. Editrice 'La Voce'. pp. xii + 294. l. 30.

In *Two Unpublished Manuscripts of John Donne* (*London Mercury*, Dec.) Mr. de Havilland prints a group of pious meditations and a letter of Donne to his father-in-law about the repayment of £100 lent him by the poet. *The Religious Thought of Donne in Relation to Medieval and Later Traditions*,⁴⁰ by Mr. Louis I. Bredvold, in which he illustrates the complexity of Donne's philosophical and theological antecedents, and Mr. Sencourt's study of the religious elements in the works of Donne, Browne, and Henry Vaughan,⁴¹ deserve careful attention. In *The Margins of Philosophy* (*T. L. S.*, Nov. 5) the place of the philosophy of St. Thomas in medieval and Renaissance literature is considered. Donne and Browne are both reckoned as Thomists and reference is made to Milton's knowledge of scholasticism.

Another paper by Mr. Bredvold on *Deism before Lord Herbert*⁴² traces the prevalence of deistic opinions from the Middle Ages to the seventeenth century.

In the two articles on *Stanley, Sherburne, and Ayres as Translators and Imitators of Italian, Spanish and French Poets* (*M. L. R.*, July and Oct.), what Signor Mario Praz has to reveal of the sources and methods of Stanley, the best poet of the three mentioned in the title, will excite the most surprise. The writer of the articles emphasizes 'his position as a promoter of the study of foreign poets, and a very conspicuous rear-guard of the Elizabethan tradition of Romance influence'. He had fallen under this influence during his years of tutorship by William Fairfax, son of Tasso's translator, and its hold on him was probably strengthened by foreign travel: so that when he settled in the Middle Temple after the Civil Wars 'he became the soul of a small cénacle of minor poets, to whom he communicated his taste and preferences, and, in one case at least, his enthusiasm in initiating others into the study of foreign poets'. Signor Praz gives a most elaborate catalogue of Italian,

⁴⁰ In *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton, and Donne*, by members of the Department of English in the University of Michigan. See above, p. 123.

⁴¹ *Outflying Philosophy: A Literary Study of the Religious Elements in the Poems and Letters of John Donne, Sir Thomas Browne, and Henry Vaughan* by Robert Sencourt. Simpkin, Marshall. pp. 358. 10s. 6d.

⁴² *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters*, iv.

Spanish, and French sources for sixteen of Stanley's poems, and adds a second list of reminiscences and conceits, most intricately borrowed and adapted, in his other work, even in his *Excitations* upon Anacreon, Bion, and Moschus.⁴³ Another list amply proves the Romance influence on Sherburne, whose relation to foreign authors is very much simpler than Stanley's: he is 'purely a translator, and the distinction between *Translations* and *Originals* introduced by Chalmers . . . is a fictitious one'. A longer, unpublished version of Stanley's lines to Sherburne, quoted by Signor Praz, throws additional light on their friendship and tastes, as does the B. M. copy of Marino's *Lira* (1638) with the inscription 'Edw. Sherburne Ex dono Amicissimi Stanley'. The much younger Philip Ayres was affected by the work of Stanley's circle, but whether he was a member of it does not appear. Of only a few of Ayres's poems is Signor Praz unable to find the originals, and even these, he shows, were suggested by fancies in Ayres's extensive reading. As for Ayres's *Emblemata Amatoria*, exhaustively considered by Mr. H. Thomas in *The Library*, 1910, Signor Praz convincingly proves the collection derived from a Dutch book of 1683, not vice versa as Mr. Thomas had supposed: Ayres merely supplied English verses (not translations) in place of the Dutch and kept the original Latin, Italian, and French.

The verse of another Caroline minor poet, Bishop Henry King,⁴⁴ has been reprinted by Mr. Sparrow, whose introduction and notes are very good. He has thoroughly revised the text, basing his own not only on the edition of 1657 but on the Malone and Phillipps manuscripts of the poems. Mr. Geoffrey Keynes supplies a bibliography of the early editions of all Henry King's works.

Professor Moore Smith's letter on Randolph's *Epithalamium* to Mr. F. H. (T. L. S., 11th June) gives particulars of F(rancis)

⁴³ A pupil of the present writer, in a thesis on Stanley, brought to light a great many more borrowings than he had suspected or Saintsbury chronicled, notably that Sherburne's one fine lyric, 'The proud Ægyptian Queen, &c.', was an almost literal translation from Marino. But Signor Praz has probably nearly exhausted the field.

⁴⁴ *The Poems of Bishop Henry King*, ed. by John Sparrow. Nonesuch Press. pp. xxx + 197. 18s.

H(ervey), who was not the bridegroom (Dabridgecourt Ward by name) but the brother of the bride, Anne Hervey; it also establishes the identity of the persons referred to in Randolph's *Apology for his false Prediction that his Aunt Lane would be delivered of a son*, as well as the probable date of the lines. In *Some Unpublished Poems of Thomas Randolph*⁴⁵ he adds materially to the Randolph canon.

The biographical data in a Sloane manuscript concerning Cowley which Mr. J. Ardagh summarizes in *N. and Q.*, 28th March, were the firstfruits of the appeal of Mr. Loiseau of Trinity College, Cambridge, for information for his projected study of the life and works of the poet. But of greater interest to the student of the later Elizabethan poetry are Mr. J. W. Hebel's acceptance (*M. L. R.*, Jan.) of *A Divine Love*, added to the second edition of Carew's poems but included by Professor Moore Smith among the doubtful poems in his reprint of Lord Herbert, as indeed by that poetic peer, and his reasonable argument that it was addressed to Lady Bedford; and Mr. L. C. Martin's introduction (*Essays and Studies*, vol. xi) to *A Forgotten Poet of the Seventeenth Century*, the Rev. Nathaniel Wanley (1634-80). Mr. Martin gives selections from Wanley's prose and verse, much of which has apparently never been published before. One poem, however, by Wanley, whose talent was akin to Vaughan's, was included by Mr. H. J. Massingham in his *Treasury of Seventeenth Century Verse*.

Mr. Hartmann's book⁴⁶ supplies at once a broad outline of the Cavalier movement, a narrative of the life of Richard Lovelace, the ideal Cavalier, and a selection of Lovelace's poetry. The author, if he adds but little to the known facts of Lovelace's career, skilfully detaches them from irrelevancies and sets them off against the background of the Civil Wars. He defends the traditional identification of Lucasta with Lucy Sacheverel, which

⁴⁵ In *Anglica (Palaestra)*, 148; see above, p. 32.

⁴⁶ *The Cavalier Spirit and its Influence on the Life and Work of Richard Lovelace (1618-58)*, by Cyril Hughes Hartmann. Routledge. pp. xvi+158. 7s. 6d.

Mr. Alexander C. Judson in *Mod. Phil.*, Aug. (*Who was Lucasta?*), rejects, and which Mr. C. H. Wilkinson (see below, p. 207) seriously questions.

In the *Philosophical Writings of Henry More*⁴⁷ Miss Flora Isabel Mackinnon has undertaken 'to provide within reasonable compass such selections from the writings of More as shall make clear the distinctive character of his answers to the problems of truth and reality', and to suggest in notes the relation of his thought to that of other men and other times. Her selections are made from the *Antidote Against Atheism*, *The Immortality of the Soul*, and *Enchiridion Metaphysicum*. Any analysis of Miss Mackinnon's interesting introduction would belong rather to a review of philosophical than literary works; but M. Saurat's recent work has emphasized the importance of some knowledge of the thought of this metaphysical century for a right appreciation of its poetry, and More is not the least interesting of these heralds of modern thought. The editor justly remarks, 'the philosophical connexion of More, as that also of Cudworth, is rather with the development of vitalistic speculation than with either the idealism or the materialism of seventeenth-century thought'. More's is a philosophy into which imagination and feeling enter largely, 'a mixture of emotion and assertion set out in all the panoply of logical form'. He is intent on proving what he desires to believe.

The unveiling last year of a memorial to Milton in Vallombrosa recording his visit to the monastery was the occasion for a number of tributes in Italian journals: *Milton in Toscana* by Signor G. Ferrando in *Illustrazione Italiana* (Oct.), *Milton a Vallombrosa* by Signor A. Sorani in *Marzocco* (6th Sept.), and an anonymous article in the same journal (9th Nov.). But the only article on Milton of a strictly biographical sort is M. Denis Saurat's *Note sur la date du mariage de Milton d'après les recherches de J. S. Smart* (*Rev. Ang.-Am.*, Aug.), unless we include under this heading Mr. R. D. Havens's conviction of the truth of *Dryden's Visit to Milton* (*R. E. S.*, July).

⁴⁷ *Philosophical Writings of Henry More*, ed. by Flora Isabel Mackinnon. New York, and O.U.P. pp. xxvii + 333. 16s.

Mr. James H. Handford's two contributions to *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton, and Donne*⁴⁸ interestingly relate Milton's thought in youth and age to his poetry in these two periods. The first on *The Youth of Milton: An Interpretation of his Early Development* is devoted to the pre-Horton phase: in it Mr. Handford draws a convincing and not unattractive portrait of the young student, at the same time throwing light forward on the years and labours that immediately followed. Along with this essay might be read Dr. J. A. Nairn's *Milton's Latin Poetry* (*Fortnightly Review*, April): Dr. Nairn, who praises highly Milton's scholarship, comments freely on the poems and quotes translations by Cowper and by himself. In his shorter paper, 'Samson Agonistes' and Milton in his Old Age, Mr. Handford concludes that *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes* are actual fulfilments of Milton's plan in *The Reason of Church Government* to produce an extended and a brief epic and a drama after the classical model. He goes on to show the interdependence of the three works.

Herr Theodor Spira's *Die Aufgabe der Miltonforschung* (*Palaestra*, 148) is a reply to, and a criticism of, such recent work on Milton's thought as M. Saurat's and M. Liljegren's.

An interpretation of a less valuable kind—one might say 'worthless', were there not some facts of interest embedded in it—is Herr Heinrich Mutschmann's *Secret of John Milton*.⁴⁹ Some of Herr Mutschmann's literary vagaries have already been recorded in *The Year's Work*, vol. v, p. 170, and the volume under discussion is as eccentric as its predecessors. We are told once again that Milton was an albino, though his portraits and Aubrey's testimony that his hair was auburn scarcely bear this out, and that the leucopathy accounts for Milton's photophobia, of which there is adequate evidence to convince Herr Mutschmann in what is known of the poet's habits as well as in his works.

There is nothing, however, revolutionary or heretical in

⁴⁸ See above, p. 123.

⁴⁹ *The Secret of John Milton*, by Heinrich Mutschmann. Reprinted from *Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Dorpatensis*. Dorpat: Author. pp. 104. 8s.

Mr. John Drinkwater's essay on *John Milton*.⁵⁰ Mr. George Sampson's *Macaulay and Milton* (*Edinburgh Review*, ccxlii) is also orthodox, if not reactionary, for in reviewing the work of the late J. S. Smart, Mr. Visiak, and M. Saurat he stoutly defends Macaulay's estimate, which appeared a hundred years ago last year.

The two essays which appeared last year on Dante and Milton, though they by no means exhaust the subject, are of great interest and value. The one is by Professor Herford,⁵¹ and the other includes an estimate of Dante's influence on Milton by an Italian.⁵² Influences nearer home and Milton's own day are considered by M. Denis Saurat in *Les Sources anglaises de la pensée de Milton: Robert Fludd (1574-1637)* (*Rev. Ang.-Am.*, Aug.) and by Mr. S. J. Crawford in *Milton and Aldhelm* (*T. L. S.*, 24th Sept.), who points out that the famous promise in *The Reason of Church Government* of a 'work not to be raised from the heat of youth, or the vapours of wine' which 'for some few years yet' Milton might delay is closely parallel to a passage in Aldhelm's *De Virginitate*. Mr. S. Foster Damon (*Three Generations of One Line: M. L. N.*, Nov.) will have it that Henry More's 'She is one orb of sense, all eye, all airy ear' (*Præ-existency of the Soul*, st. 102) is the ancestor of Milton's 'All Heart they live, all Head, all Eye, all Eare' (*P. L.* vi. 350) and Shelley's 'All touch, all eye, all ear' (*Queen Mab*, vi. i): Newton found Milton's original in Pliny's *Natural History*, i. vii. Sources for Milton's '*And on the left hand Hell*' (*P. L.* x. 322) are suggested by Mr. Ed. C. Baldwin in *M. L. N.* (April), while Mr. J. H. Pitman in *Milton and the Physiologus* in the same journal (Nov.) would give an OE. origin for the description of the leviathan.

In the *Philological Quarterly* (4th Oct.) Miss H. Studley writes on Milton's paraphrases of the Psalms, those somewhat disappoint-

⁵⁰ In *The Muse in Council*, by John Drinkwater. Sidgwick & Jackson. pp. 255. 7s. 6d.

⁵¹ *Dante and Milton*. Reprinted from the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, &c. University Press, Manchester. Longmans. pp. 24.

⁵² *Dante nella letteratura inglese*, di Michele Renzulli. Firenze. Soc. ed. 'La Via'.

ing performances, which, however, 'reveal . . . another phase of the closeness with which Milton associated himself with the interests of the day'. She points out the Psalms were pre-eminently the hymns of the Protestants and that the greatest importance was attached to close translation, while at the same time Milton and others 'considered acceptable religious interpretation of more importance than accurate translation'. 'The Psalms must be written in accordance with accepted theological belief, and in the popular service metre.' The last statement applies to the first group of 1648, which, she thinks, Milton chose at that period, but 'they express the need of the Church for God's guidance'; the later 1655 group were a bolder experiment in freer measures. Miss Studley's chief point is that certain of Milton's translations are not so much due, as Baldwin had urged, to mistranslation of the Hebrew as to his acceptance of current dogmas, and 'that the basis of his work is not only the Hebrew but all available texts'. Miss Studley includes Donne among the translators of the Psalms. This is a mistake. It seems to the present writer probable that Milton's translation of Horace's 'Quis multa gracilis' should be closely connected in date with his first batch of Psalms, an experiment in the 'word for word' translation he is to attempt with the Psalms.

Though Mr. Charles G. Osgood in a note on *Lycidas*, 130, 131 (*R. E. S.*, July) takes the lines

But that two-handed engine at the door
Stands ready to smite once and smite no more

to be 'but another instance of the allusive Alexandrian splendour in which [Milton] excelled all rivals', he makes out a good case for the poet's having had in mind the two-handed flail of Spenser's Talus to whom he refers in a very significant passage in *Eikonoklastes*, chapter iv. Mr. James A. S. Barrett in *Ambiguities in 'Paradise Lost'* (*T. L. S.*, 8th Oct.) offers interpretations on the following passages, v. 818-21, x. 346-9, 572-3, and xi. 693-5; and in the same periodical (15th Jan.: *The Text of Milton*) Professor Grierson supports the reading 'in glorious Theames' in Milton's two transcripts in the Trinity College MS. of the sonnet *On the Religious Memory of Mrs. Catherine Thomason* as against the usual 'on glorious Themes'.

In *M. L. N.* (March) Merritt Y. Hughes makes the line in *L'Allegro*

Lap me in soft Lydian airs

the text for a learned note on the Renaissance views, inherited from Plato, of the moral effects of music and its modes. 'Throughout the Renaissance the term "Lydian" was the standard reproach for everything thought to be vicious in music', vicious because sensuous. But Plato had condemned the Lydian mode not as sensuous only but as tragic. Milton the enthusiast for great tragedy could not share this view. His discussion of music in the *Tractate on Education* is 'a protest against the moralist and reactionary elements in the Platonic tradition' and his use of the epithet in *L'Allegro* 'a claim that music should share the right of poetry to be sensuous and passionate'. So much may lie behind the choice of a word!

In *J. E. G. P.* (July) E. Chauncey Baldwin suggests as a source of some of Milton's amplifications of the Biblical narrative of the Fall the Jewish apocryphal book *The Apocalypse of Moses or The Lives of Adam and Eve*. The work was not printed till as late as 1866. The resemblances are not very convincing, nor is it perhaps necessary to find a 'source' for everything that Milton imagined. Herr Friedrich Brie's article, *Das Märchen von Childe Rowland und sein Nachleben* (*Christopher Middleton's Chillon of England, Peele's Old Wife's Tale and Milton's Comus*) (in *Palaestra*, 148), is rather a study in comparative literature than in source-hunting.

In an interesting note on Milton's 'wealth of Ormus and of Ind', *P. L.* ii. 2 (*M. L. R.*, July), John W. Draper refers to the reputation for wealth and luxury of Ormus in the seventeenth century, but shows that the prosperity of this barren island was due entirely to the Portuguese, who made it the key to 'not only the commerce between Europe and the Orient, but also of the local trade within the Orient itself'; but that this greatness of Ormus had passed away forty years before Milton wrote *Paradise Lost*. Milton, like other poets, seems to have been content to use traditional geography even after it had ceased to be accurate. Donne thus continues to talk of the Strait of Tierra del Fuego as the only inlet to the Pacific some years after the Dutch had rounded Cape Horn.

The late John S. Smart, whose edition of Milton's sonnets was noticed in this publication (vol. ii, pp. 107-8), dealt in a posthumously published article (*R. E. S.*, Oct.) with the charge revived by Liljegren⁵³ that Milton and Dugard the printer interpolated into the *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική* the prayer from Sidney's *Arcadia*, for using which Milton then reprobated Charles in *Εἰκονοκλάστης*, calling it a prayer taken from a heathen woman praying to a heathen god, not fit to be used by a Christian but coming under the same condemnation as meat or drink offered to idols, which St. Paul judged a pollution. Smart of course waived all intention of defending Milton's charge. 'It cannot be said too plainly that the conduct of King Charles was perfectly blameless.' He is concerned only with the charge of fraud brought against Milton. This rests upon a statement made by Henry Hills to his physicians Dr. Gill and Dr. Bernard 'that he had heard Bradshaw and Milton laugh at their inserting a Prayer out of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* at the end of King Charles his book'. But Hills' life shows him to have been a man of utterly worthless character whose unsupported evidence no fair judge could accept, and who, 'then no more than an obscure adventurer', was little likely to have been 'admitted to the secrets of those in power' or been 'present at their most intimate conversations'. In the second place Charles was in the habit of copying out prayers and of modifying them to suit his purposes. The second of the collection is preserved in his own handwriting. Now Sidney's prayer has been modified and given 'a definitely Christian character'. Would Milton, interpolating the prayer for polemical purposes, have done this? 'If Milton was the author of the sentence which contains the words *our alone Saviour Jesus Christ*, why did he insert it and thus destroy his own argument that the prayer is a piece of paganism?'

In *P. M. L. A.*, xl, Mr. Alwin Thaler has endeavoured to deal exhaustively with the influence of Shakespeare on Milton as reflected in (1) his style, 'epithet, phrase, or figure', and (2) in 'reminiscences or striking likenesses more essentially dramatic in character—echoes of dramatic theme, situation, or charac-

⁵³ See *The Year's Work*, vol. ii, p. 104.

terization'. He has dealt with the plays individually, believing that when there are one or two striking cases he is justified in assuming a debt when the resemblances are less obvious. Certainly some of the examples are not at all convincing, and the present writer is disposed to think that in these studies of sources, which American students carry out with such thoroughness, a self-denying ordinance should be adopted ruling out resemblances which can be readily explained by a common experience, a metaphor that might quite naturally occur to one poet as well as another. 'The language of Nature is the same in Cappadocia and in Britain' says Gibbon commenting on a poem of Gregory of Nazianzen and Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*. The most striking coincidences between Milton's and Shakespeare's phrasing have been noted by various commentators. Mr. Thaler collects these and adds others. The total effect is interesting. Milton undoubtedly knew and studied Shakespeare deeply. His early epitaph is one piece of evidence and his debt to him another. There was no other English predecessor from whom he could learn so much. When Milton directly or indirectly slighted Shakespeare it was on pedantic grounds or for political purposes.

What may be considered a Milton item was reprinted by Mr. Johannes C. Anderson in the *T.L.S.*, 27th Aug. In this letter of Dr. Thomas Bentley the writer refers to his irascible uncle's inability to forbear talking of Milton and his own disgust at 'the nonsense & absurdities he puts upon him': he was able, however, to convince his uncle on a disputed reading in *Paradise Lost*, iv. 249-51.

We need merely refer here to the beautiful type-facsimile of Johnson's *Prologue to Comus* and his eloquent postscript written in the same year (1750) for William Lauder's *Essay on Milton's Use and Imitation of the Moderns*.⁵⁴

The King's College, London University, School of Slavonic Studies has issued two interesting studies⁵⁵ by Mr. R. F. Young

⁵⁴ See further, chapter x, p. 228.

⁵⁵ (1) *A Czech Humanist in London in the Seventeenth Century: Jan Sictor Rubycarsky, &c.* (2) *A Bohemian Philosopher at Oxford in the Seventeenth Century: George Ritschel of Deutschkahn (1616-1683).* By Robert Fitzgibbon Young. Eyre & Spottiswoode.

on Czech or Bohemian scholars who settled in the London of Milton and his circle when driven from their native country in the seventeenth century. Jan Sictor (1593–1652), who ultimately reached England (1626–9) by way of Holland and lived a hard life on the charity of London aldermen and others, wrote endless Latin poems, congratulations and threnodies mainly, but including a *Panegyricon Londinio* describing the constitution and organization of the City of London (1638). Mr. Young has printed a full bibliography of his poems.

More interesting is George Ritschel, the friend of Comenius and Hartlib, whose *Contemplationes Metaphysicæ, &c.* (1648) excited the interest of Leibniz; while his *Dissertatio de cærimoniiis Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, &c.* (1661) is ‘a singularly sane and reasoned defence of the Anglican position against the Puritans’. ‘Ritschel’s work, Peripatetic in its main outlines, but showing the influence of Ramus, Bacon, and Herbert of Cherbury, and of modern mathematicians and physicists such as Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo, marks, as it were, the transition between the Aristotelian tradition and the newer systems of thought elaborated by Descartes, Leibniz, and Spinoza.’ Mr. Young’s work is scholarly and admirable.

Biographical details concerning minor and obscure writers of the period account for several items which we must pass over very briefly. *Gregory Sayers (1560–1602): A Forgotten English Moral Theologian* is the subject of an essay by Mr. E. J. Mahoney in *The Catholic Historical Review*, v. Concerning another controversialist, the Anglo-Scot George Thomson, various facts are given by Mr. J. B. Wainewright and Professor Bensly in *N. and Q.*, 14th and 28th Feb.: the latter believes that one at least of Thomson’s works, his *Vindex Veritatis adversus Lipsium*, 1606, was known to Burton. The same contributors in the same journal (24th Jan., 7th Feb.) discuss another Anglo-Scot, Alexander Hume the grammarian, author of *The Orthography of the Britan Tongue*, 1592. Mr. Wainewright again (*N. and Q.*, 7th Feb.) would identify Camden’s friend John Bishop with the author of *A courteous conference with the English Catholics Roman, about the six articles ministered unto the seminary priests*, 1598, and perhaps with the father of William, Bishop of Chalcedon. In the same magazine (21st Feb.) D. R. W. describes the

contents of the Catholic *Crudelitatis Calvinianæ Exempla*, 1585, and considers the identity of G. T. mentioned in it. We are inclined to identify him with the Puritan William Travers. In *R. E. S.* (Oct.) Professor Moore Smith lays the foundations for a sketch of Charles Best, one of the contributors to Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody*: he suggests that Best's *Panegyrick* echoes Gaunt's speech in *Richard II*, II. i. 40, &c. Mr. G. E. Manwaring (*T. L. S.*, 16th July) is concerned not so much with the biography of John Keymer as with the duty of giving greater publicity to the fact that Keymer was the author of *Observations touching Trade and Commerce with the Hollander and Other Nations*, not Raleigh to whom the pamphlet is still attributed: Mr. Manwaring also notices some of the manuscript copies of the *Observations*. In *The Whole Duty of Man: Richard and James Allestree* (*Bodleian Quarterly Record*, Jan.) F. M[adan] gives corroborative evidence of the authorship of the popular devotional manual. Lastly, we would record here a scholarly monograph ⁵⁶ by Mr. A. L. Humphreys on the picturesque antiquary, Elias Ashmole: the main facts of Ashmole's matrimonial adventures, his astrological and Rosicrucian studies, his Freemasonry and researches are already known, but it is useful to have them presented so compactly and interestingly with Mr. Humphreys' own discoveries.

Some account of Martin Parker's *Nightingale warbling forth her own Disaster, or, the Rape of Philomela*, 1632, was given by Mr. Rollins in his article on the poetaster in *Mod. Phil.* xvi. It has now been more fully described in *Martin Parker's 'Philomela'* (*M. L. N.*, Dec.) by Mr. J. N. D. Bush, and its source is shown to be Pettie's *Palace of Pleasure*, though hints may also have been taken from Patrick Hannay's *Nightingale* and Gascoigne's *Complaint of Phylomene*, and even from Ovid in translation. The Da. Price who tactlessly declares 'Were I not sure thou didst this worke compile, I'd not beleev't', though evidently not known to Mr. Bush, may have been Daniel Price, Dean of Hereford (1580-1630): if so Parker's poem must have been written, and may have been published, before 1632.

⁵⁶ *Elias Ashmole*, by A. L. Humphreys. Printed for the Author, York Lodge, Reading. pp. 25.

The tragic history of Sir Thomas Overbury has been explored by Judge Parry with a rare combination of scientific accuracy and imagination.⁵⁷ Accuracy and enthusiastic diligence have gone to produce Professor W. H. Vann's annotated bibliography which he modestly calls *Notes on the Writings of James Howell*.⁵⁸ A tribute is paid to the good sense and sanity of John Selden in the *T. L. S.* leading article for 22nd October, ostensibly a review of Mr. Ogg's learned edition of Selden's *Ad Fletam Dissertatio*.⁵⁹ Professor S. B. Liljegren, whose learned edition of Harrington's *Oceana* was noticed in *The Year's Work*, vol. iv, pp. 146-7, has followed it with *Some Notes on the Name of James Harrington's 'Oceana'*.⁶⁰ Mr. W. Barclay Squire, too, continues his elaborate notes on *Evelyn and Music* from 1645 to 1649 (*T. L. S.*, 14th May and 10th Dec.: see also 28th May for a correction by Mr. Thomas Ashby). Mr. G. S. Gibbons (*N. and Q.*, 30th May) adds another to the list begun last year of books bearing presentation inscriptions by Izaak Walton. In *Parents of Cyriack Skinner* (*N. and Q.*, Feb. 21) Mr. H. Askew cites W. A. Gunnell's *Sketches of Hull Celebrities* as evidence that Andrew Marvell inherited six hundred gold pieces and three houses from the mother of the young lady drowned at the same time as the elder Marvell. Perhaps a revival of interest in Jeremy Taylor, whose work has not received much attention in recent years, is indicated to a certain extent by the appearance of Mr. Stephen Gaselee's essay on *Casuistry* (*Edinburgh Review*, ccxli), which touches on Taylor's great *Ductor Dubitantium* and Robert Sanderson's *De Obligatione Conscientiæ*, but very much more by the work of Canon W. J. Brown, which, besides narrating briefly Taylor's life, analyses his works acutely and lucidly.⁶¹

It is Puritanism, however (and especially three of the most arresting personalities of the movement), that has received the

⁵⁷ *The Overbury Mystery: A Chronicle of Fact and Drama of the Law*, by Edward Abbott Parry. Fisher Unwin. pp. 328. 21s.

⁵⁸ *Notes on the Writings of James Howell*, by William Henry Vann. Belton, Texas: Baylor College, 1924. pp. 71.

⁵⁹ *Johannis Seldeni Ad Fletam Dissertatio*. Reprinted from the Edition of 1647, with Parallel Translation, Introduction, and Notes by David Ogg. C.U.P. 20s.

⁶⁰ In *Festschrift Johannes Hoops*. See above, p. 32, n. 2.

⁶¹ *Jeremy Taylor*, by W. J. Brown. S.P.C.K. pp. 224. 6s.

greater share of attention. The earlier phase and the career and influence of Cartwright, the Thomalin of *The Shepherd's Calendar* are investigated with scholarly enthusiasm by Dr. A. F. Scott Pearson.⁶² His fully documented study corrects many ancient errors and provides not only the first complete biography of the Puritan leader but one of the best introductions to the history of Elizabethan ecclesiastical policy. The tercentenary of the birth of George Fox was celebrated in 1924, and many of the centenary tributes were collected and reprinted last year by Dr. Rendel Harris.⁶³ A more lasting memorial, however, has been raised by Dr. Norman Penney, who some years ago edited what Fox himself called 'Y^e Great Journall of My Life, Sufferings, Travails, and Imprisonments', and who has now printed three of 'y^e little Journall Books'.⁶⁴ The first of these or 'The Short Journal' covers the years from 1648 to Fox's imprisonment in January 1664; 'The Itinerary Journal' details his movements from 1681 to 1687; and the third document is a record of the eighteen months from the beginning of 1677 to the middle of 1678.

Jeannette Tawney has brought together an interesting series of chapters from Richard Baxter's *Christian Directory* (1673)⁶⁵ to illustrate the attitude of a practical Christian moralist towards economic questions. Baxter's work is a contribution to the literature of what may be called casuistry, the consideration of particular cases of conscience, like Taylor's *Ductor Dubitantium*, and among these are economic questions of taking interest, fair price, &c. 'In reply to the convenient dualism which exonerates the individual by representing his actions as the result of uncon-

⁶² *Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism, 1535-1603*, by the Rev. A. F. Scott Pearson. C.U.P. pp. xvi + 511. 25s.

⁶³ *New Appreciations of George Fox: A Tercentenary Collection of Studies*. Foreword by J. Rendel Harris. Swarthmore Press. pp. 182. 6s.

⁶⁴ *The Short Journal and Itinerary Journals of George Fox*. In commemoration of the Tercentenary of his Birth (1624-1924). Now first published by Friends' Historical Association, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Ed. by Norman Penney. With an Introduction by T. Edmund Harvey. C.U.P. pp. xxxvi + 403. 15s.

⁶⁵ *Chapters from a Christian Directory or a Sermon of Practical Theology and Cases of Conscience*, by Richard Baxter. Selected by Jeannette Tawney. With a Preface by the Right Rev. Charles Gore. Bell. pp. xvi + 176. 6s.

trollable forces, the Christian, Baxter insists, is committed by his Faith to the acceptance of certain ethical standards, and these standards are as obligatory in the sphere of economic transactions as in any other province of human activity.' 'The Christian is debarred from making money at the expense of other persons.' A short preface is contributed by Dr. Gore. The practical, ethical character of Baxter's teaching stands in striking contrast to the majority of the sermons of the century—Anglican or other.

An even more skilful and judicious abridgement has been carried out by Mr. J. M. Lloyd Thomas on the ill-assorted *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ* of 1696.⁶⁶ As Matthew Sylvester's bulky and badly edited folio was never reprinted, and as Edmund Calamy's *Abridgment* (1702) was a 'composite product, being a reduction of Baxter's lively first-person story into a third-person record, woven often indistinguishably into Calamy's own writing', Mr. Thomas's admirable sifting of his materials may well make this *Autobiography of Richard Baxter* a standard work. Though he has reduced considerably Sylvester's compilation, he has omitted nothing relevant for an understanding of Baxter, and has at the same time restored from manuscript sources some important matter, besides adding valuable notes and an index. His introductory essay is an excellent and fully documented study of the man Baxter, his relations to the politics in church and state of his day, and 'the significance of his mind and character for our own day'. There are two appendices, the second on Baxter's love-story and marriage, and the other a narrative of the divine's life after the abrupt close of the *Autobiography* in January 1682 to his death in 1691, with a full account of his trial before Jeffreys.

[By F. S. Boas]

Mr. Wilkinson modestly avows that his edition of the poems of Richard Lovelace⁶⁷ 'will supply no long-felt want', but it is

⁶⁶ *The Autobiography of Richard Baxter: Being the Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*. Abridged from the Folio (1696). With an Introduction, by J. M. Lloyd Thomas. Dent. pp. xxxvii + 312. 7s. 6d.

⁶⁷ *The Poems of Richard Lovelace*, ed. by C. H. Wilkinson. O.U.P. Two vols. pp. lxxxix + 143 and viii + 227. £4 4s.

difficult to imagine any gift more acceptable to lovers of the Cavalier lyrists than this sumptuous reprint, which keeps, so far as is compatible with difference of size, the appearance of the original volumes of 1649 and 1659, and which adds portraits, engravings, and contemporary music.

The reprint of the poems, followed by textual notes, is contained in the second volume. The first includes Mr. Wilkinson's editorial material. His introduction begins with a biography of Lovelace, in which he proves the inaccuracy of many of the details given by Anthony Wood in *Athenae Oxonienses* and especially questions his identification of Lucasta with Lucy Sacheverel. 'It is quite as likely that she was a member of the family of Lucas, and that the poet addressed her in the same way as Walton did his second wife, Anne Ken, whom, in the song *The Angler's Wish*, he calls "my Kenna".' Mr. Wilkinson also proves, from information supplied by Mr. Thorn-Drury, that Lovelace died, not about 1658 (as Wood states), but in 1656 or 1657, as an elegy on him was included in a volume of poems by Eldred Revett, published in 1657. Revett helped Lovelace's brother Dudley to see the volume of posthumous poems through the press in 1659-60.

In a short survey of the phases of Lovelace's reputation, Mr. Wilkinson points out that he did not achieve any great popularity in his own day, and that in the earlier part of the eighteenth century he seems to have been almost entirely forgotten. His popularity dates from 1765 when Percy reprinted 'To Althea', and 'To Lucasta, Going to the Warres' in the *Reliques*. His latest editor claims, as we think justly, that these famous songs have overshadowed the rest of the poet's work, and prevented full recognition of its merits.

The Introduction is completed by a bibliographical discussion of the text of the 1649 and 1659 editions, and by notes on the portraits and engravings, of which 'Richard Lovelace, Hon. M.A. Oxon. Aetat 18' and 'Colonel Richard Lovelace', in the Dulwich Gallery, are specially attractive. Seven musical settings of the songs are reproduced in facsimile (all but one in volume ii); three of them by Henry Lawes are contained in a MS. collection in the possession of the Rev. H. R. Cooper Smith, and are here reproduced for the first time. The edition is completed by 143 pages of notes and appendices. Mr. Wilkinson, who is

Fellow and Librarian of Worcester College, Oxford, has raised an appropriately splendid monument to one of the most radiant figures that have graced that foundation under its earlier title of Gloucester Hall.

Somewhat more austere in its beauty, as is equally fitting, is Professor Grierson's 'Florence Press' edition of *The Poems of John Milton*.⁶⁸ The distinctive aim of the edition is to reproduce the poems 'in as exact chronological order as can be ascertained, irrespective of the language—Greek, Latin, Italian, or English—in which they were written'. As, however, it was found necessary to devote the second volume to *Paradise Lost*, the first volume has been divided into two parts as a reminder that 'the longer epic would properly come between' them. In the preface to this volume the editor explains the principles that have guided him. He finds that in the volume of 1645 Milton generally arranged his poems in their order of composition, but within certain groups. In breaking up these groups Dr. Grierson has found help in the Trinity College, Cambridge, MS., though, after an analysis of its contents, he concludes that it is not safe to infer that the order of the poems in the MS. is that of their composition, nor that the absence of a poem from it is a proof that the poem was previously composed. Thus the omission of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* from the MS. is not to him (as to Masson) a conclusive proof that they were written before *Arcades*. He associates them with 'the maturer art of the descriptive passages in *Comus*', and even suggests that they might conceivably have been written later than *Comus*. In any case, for reasons that will probably win assent, he places later than *Comus* the Latin apologetic poem *Ad Patrem*, which Masson had assigned to the earlier Horton period. With regard to the order of the sonnets Dr. Grierson (differing from Mr. J. H. Hanford) thinks it safest to follow Milton's numbering in the Trinity MS. The detailed discussion of these points is of great interest, and it is a gain to have it brought home to us by the distribution of the poems in this

⁶⁸ *The Poems of John Milton, English, Latin, Greek and Italian*: arranged in chronological order, with a Preface by H. J. C. Grierson. At the Florence Press. Chatto & Windus. Two vols. pp. xliii + 375 and lxiv + 371. 12s. 6d. net, each vol.

volume that to Milton, as to other and earlier Renaissance writers, his work was a single whole, whatever the language he employed.

In the preface to volume ii Dr. Grierson traces, with extracts from the lyrical passages in the pamphlets, and from the notes and schemes in the Trinity MS., the stages by which Milton came finally to choose epic instead of dramatic form, and the subject of 'Paradise Lost' rather than one from national history, for his long-meditated great poem. This poem was published in ten Books in 1667, but it is in the 1674 edition in twelve Books that Dr. Grierson (like Richardson in 1734) sees 'the Finish'd, the Genuine, the Uncorrupted Work of John Milton'. As a proof of Milton's careful revision of the text of the 1674 edition, he points to the fact that 'their' is altered to 'thir' twenty-five times, where it is not rhetorically or metrically stressed, in Book I alone. He also gives a list of more important textual emendations, and contends (as we think, rightly) that Beeching should have based his text of *Paradise Lost* in his Oxford Milton on the 1674 and not the 1667 volume. But in the matter of spelling Dr. Grierson is himself (as he candidly admits) open to criticism. He has 'modernized wherever there is no difference of sound between the old form and the new', but has retained 'Milton's own spelling wherever it does indicate his pronunciation'. Such a principle must involve some arbitrary decisions, and neither his 'First' nor 'Second Defence', in his two prefaces, can entirely reconcile us to the compromise. It is the only doubtful feature in an edition which every student of Milton should add to his library.

IX

THE RESTORATION

[By ALLARDYCE NICOLL]

IN spite of many and varied studies devoted to almost all aspects of Restoration literature, the stalwart figure of John Dryden stands out pre-eminent; his character and achievements seem to have perennial fascination both for those who may be styled literary psychologists and for detailed researchers.

Mr. Alan Lubbock's essay on *The Character of John Dryden* is a welcome one.¹ Mr. Lubbock does well to call our attention to the fact that, reading Dryden,

one is aware of the presence of a character as solid as Dr. Johnson; but look for him, and he is not there: the lines of the human figure dissolve, as you turn, into those of the literature of his age.

Dealing with his religious, political and critical ideals, Mr. Lubbock endeavours to capture this elusive entity. He discovers above all a liberal scepticism which kept Dryden a Conservative in spite of his rejection of the Divine Right theory, a classicist in spite of a wide appreciation of all literature. Perhaps certain portions of this essay—such as that on the 'poets of the last age'—are rather over-laboured, but as a whole Mr. Lubbock seems to have succeeded in pointing out the salient features of Dryden's nature and in providing a character study which remains true to fact. The treatment of critical ideas, in particular, appears to be excellent.

A collection which is likely to make Dryden rather more popular than he is has been prepared by Mr. D. Nichol Smith and published in the excellent Clarendon Press series.² The introduction to this volume is succinct and scholarly, while it

¹ *The Character of John Dryden*, by Alan Lubbock. Hogarth Press. pp. 31. 2s. 6d. net.

² *Dryden: Poetry and Prose, with Essays by Congreve, Johnson, Scott, and others*, ed. by David Nichol Smith. O.U.P. pp. xvi + 204. 3s. 6d.

was a happy thought to add selections from the criticism of Congreve, Johnson, and Scott. No anthology from Dryden could ever please all his admirers. The present writer, for example, regrets that he does not see here the dreadful verses on Lord Falkland, so useful for comparison with Dryden's maturer work, while among those maturer works opinions may differ concerning inclusion and exclusion. On the whole, however, the choice is a catholic one and well designed to display the breadth and variety of Dryden's poetical charm.

This effort to popularize the works of the Restoration writer goes alongside more detailed research into his life, his literary works, his reading, and his friends. Among contributions of the latter type not the least important are those of Mr. G. Thorn-Drury (*R. E. S.*, I. i. Jan.; I. ii. April; I. iii. July). A short summary of these *Notes on Dryden* may be presented here. There are interesting parallels quoted between *All for Love* and Daniel's *Cleopatra*; a new record (of the year 1713) of Milton's famous, if not fully substantiated, reply to Dryden's proposal regarding *The State of Innocence*; a little scrap of information relating to Dryden's pecuniary circumstances; and a few other items of minor interest. In addition to these there are one or two longer and more important studies. Mr. Thorn-Drury thus brings forward evidence to show that the 'Person of Honour' (what tiresome people they were, to be sure!) who wrote *Poetical Reflections on a late Poem Intituled, Absalom and Achitophel* was not, as Wood states, the Duke of Buckingham. New points are introduced to show that *Mac-Flecknoe* was, in all probability, written and known in manuscript by 1678, and an attempt is made to relieve Shadwell of the responsibility of *The Medal of John Bayes*. Concerning *Absalom and Achitophel* Mr. Thorn-Drury draws attention to a previous application of the Biblical theme on the part of Mrs. Cellier as early as 1680. Less satisfactory are the notes on the vexed question of *The Tempest*. Much of the evidence here is well known, and the passage quoted from *The Reasons of Mr. Bays Changing his Religion* (1688) merely proves that Dryden was assumed to be the author of the operatic version. This fact certainly cannot be challenged; the point of the controversy is

that, while the operative *Tempest* was republished several times with Dryden's preface, Downes asserts that the *real* author was Shadwell. The fact that the original 1670 non-operative version was printed in the collected *Works* of Dryden in 1701 seems to outweigh all the other references.

Among Mr. Thorn-Drury's notes particular attention may be drawn to the presentation of some original and highly valuable MS. material. The Epistle Dedicatory to the satirical *Poem to King William* is a delightful piece of writing; the letter from Jacob Tonson shows how easy it was to imitate the Dryden and Waller styles; and the note from Lenthall Warcup indicates the interest taken by 'the Town' in Dryden's political poems. Altogether there has been given here a series of carefully documented and carefully thought-out notes which must prove invaluable to any future critic or biographer of Dryden.

In *The Philological Quarterly* (IV. i, Jan.) Miss Amanda M. Ellis essays a study of *Horace's Influence on Dryden*, in which a detailed examination is made of Dryden's general indebtedness to, and particular quotations from, Horace's poems. This essay contains the results of much excellent work, but its form is a trifle dry and tabular. Writing more freshly, Miss Kathleen M. Lynch (*Phil. Quarterly*, Oct.) discusses *D'Urfé's L'Astrée and the 'Proviso' Scenes in Dryden's Comedy*. Miss Lynch's thesis—for which she makes out a good case—is that these 'proviso' scenes, which constitute Dryden's most marked contribution to English comedy, are imitated from the courtship of Hylas and Stelle in D'Urfé's romance. Her parallels are well chosen, and serve to throw some fresh light on what was virtually the genesis of the comedy of manners. Mr. D. M. Low in *T. L. S.* (April 30) indicates an error of *Chassis* for *Chiassis* in *Theodore and Honoria*.

Mr. Bonamy Dobrée, whose *Restoration Comedy* was noted in the last issue of *The Year's Work* (pp. 187–8), has added two more books to the Restoration list during 1925. For the World's Classics series he has edited the comedies of William Congreve,³ and has produced as well a series of *Essays in Biography*,

³ *Comedies by William Congreve*, ed. by Bonamy Dobrée. O.U.P. pp. xxviii + 472. 2s. net.

covering the period 1680-1726.⁴ The first is a reprint of the collected edition of 1710, with a clever introduction which concerns itself mainly with the Congrevian style. A second volume will complete, what has long been desired, a cheap and trustworthy collected Works of this master of English prose. In *Essays in Biography* Mr. Dobrée continues his efforts in creative criticism. Singling out Sir George Etherege, the ambassador, Sir John Vanbrugh, the architect of Blenheim, and Joseph Addison, 'the first Victorian', the biographer strives to present pen-pictures of these typical men at typical moments in their careers. Etherege, bored and reckless in his dismal Ratisbon, dreaming of London joys; Vanbrugh, quarrelling with workmen and the Duchess; Addison plodding away industriously at University or continental travel—these figures take life before us and make enjoyment of *The Man of Mode*, *The Provok'd Husband*, and *Cato* at once keener and more intelligent. Mr. Dobrée possesses an observant eye and a pen which, if sometimes a little too vivid and scintillating, making the writer lose balance for the sake of an epigrammatic thrust, is delightful in a world where academic tonelessness seems the inevitable companion of academic research.

Since Mr. Dobrée was the author of *Restoration Comedy*, it may be fitting here to note another study on this subject, *The Comic Spirit in Restoration Drama* by Professor Perry.⁵ This work is both scholarly and illuminating. The author has made an endeavour to analyse the comic styles of the five principal dramatists of the 'manners' school and place them in their historical and philosophical position in the realm of comedy. The careful dissection of individual plays undoubtedly helps Professor Perry in this task, and many good points are made, especially in the section devoted to Vanbrugh, so that his study is a genuine contribution to a subject which has had its critics since the times of Jeremy Collier. Unfortunately, Professor Perry has to a certain extent spoilt the general

⁴ *Essays in Biography, 1680-1726*, by Bonamy Dobrée. O.U.P. pp. xi + 357. 12s. 6d. net.

⁵ *The Comic Spirit in Restoration Drama: Studies in the Comedy of Etherege, Wycherley, Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Farquhar*, by Henry Ten Eyck Perry. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press; London: O.U.P. pp. xii + 148. 9s.

impression of his book by a conscious or unconscious formalism. 'The Comic Spirit', nowhere closely defined, is the phrase with which his initial chapter opens, and the same phrase closes each section of his work. This in itself is, of course, of no moment, but it conveys to the reader an impression that this phrase is being used in a rather vague and mechanical manner. It is easy to say that Congreve is a master of the comic spirit; it is less easy to define what one means by the comic spirit, and still less easy to show how Congreve shares the temper of, yet veers away from, Jonson or Molière or Sheridan. We still await that work which, combining the subtlety of Bergson, the detailed psychological investigation of Sully, the literary appreciation of students of Restoration and other literature, shall provide a thorough study of comedy as a dramatic form.

Among Restoration dramatists, Thomas Otway has been, until recent years, the most persistently neglected by research students. Much new light was thrown on his biography by Mr. Ghosh (in articles noted in the last issue of *The Year's Work*, p. 194), and now Mr. Roswell J. Ham supplies fresh information concerning *Thomas Otway, Rochester, and Mrs. Barry* (*N. and Q.*, Sept. 5). Mr. Ghosh had endeavoured to prove that Mrs. Barry was not the recipient of the famous love-letters of the poet; this suggestion Mr. Ham combats. He notes that, while the letters first appeared without any indication of the addressee, they were described as written to Mrs. Barry as early as 1713 in an advertisement which appeared in an edition of Lee's works that year. Furthermore, Mr. Ham throws doubt on the assumption that Rochester brought Mrs. Barry upon the stage, dating their intimacy, not 'long before 1675', but later than 1676. Proceeding further, the author of this article makes the novel suggestion that the rival mentioned in the letters was not Rochester at all, but the gay Sir George Etherege. This theory has much to recommend it, and there are several known facts which would fit in well with it. It is certainly to be hoped that fresh information will be unearthed in the near future to settle some of the vexed points in Otway's career.

D'Avenant's 'Macbeth' and Shakespeare's is a detailed textual study by Mr. Hazleton Spencer (*P. M. L. A.*, Sept.) in which he

strives to analyse and tabulate D'Avenant's methods of stage abridgement and expansion. This question opens up a larger one, which is dealt with by the present writer in an article on *The Rights of Beeston and D'Avenant in Elizabethan Plays* (*R. E. S.*, Jan.). Here D'Avenant's association with William Beeston and the early distribution of 'Elizabethan' plays are discussed, and an attempt is made to show that the division of dramas in 1660 was made on grounds of proprietary right and that D'Avenant may have been in possession of certain prompt copies of Shakespeare plays when he started his company acting. This theory is combated by Mr. Hazleton Spencer (*R. E. S.*, Oct.). Without putting forward any suggestion to explain the handing over of important dramas to D'Avenant, Mr. Spencer makes a strong case against the lost prompt-book explanation. In his opinion the Restoration quartos are clearly traceable to existing printed texts. While Mr. Spencer has gathered a considerable amount of information regarding the text of these quartos there still remain some doubtful points, and the present writer confesses that he does not feel convinced that the solution of the problem is thus easily reached.

Similar discussion has appeared in the pages of *R. E. S.* (April) concerning the position of Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, in the history of the heroic play. Mr. F. W. Payne, writing on *The Question of Precedence between Dryden and the Earl of Orrery with regard to the English Heroic Play*, proves that Orrery had written plays in rhymed couplets long before the appearance of Dryden's first effort, and at the same time attempts to show that one of his dramas (*The Black Prince*, according to Mr. Payne) was produced at the King's Theatre in 1663. Mr. Payne's argument is cumulative, and the minor details of evidence need not be commented on here. Mr. Grattan Flood follows with an interesting note on *Orrery's Black Prince* (July), in which he endeavours to show that this heroic drama was first acted in July 1666. Mr. Payne, in his reply (*ib.*), while noting the value of Mr. Grattan Flood's new references, denies that these constitute sufficient evidence for this assumption. While it is anticipating, attention may here be drawn to a further article by Mr. William S. Clark entitled *Further Light upon the Heroic Plays of Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery*

(April 1926), in which fresh points are adduced to prove that the first play written by Orrery, and the first acted, was *The General*, and that *The Black Prince* first appeared, as Pepys stated, on October 19, 1667. The whole question is a confused one and can be answered only by a full consideration of all the many conflicting statements of contemporaries.

Some new work has been done by Mr. D. M. Walmsley on Thomas Shadwell. In the *R.E.S.* (July) Mr. Walmsley discusses two hitherto unnoticed poems contained in a British Museum manuscript (Add. 19759). The music of these two songs, the first lines of which are:

Bright was the morning, cool the Air
and

Fools for themselves will Treasure prize,
is attributed in a contemporary hand to 'Mr. Shadwell', and Mr. Walmsley believes that both words and tunes were by that author. In *T.L.S.* (April 16) the same writer deals with some details in Shadwell's biography, bringing forward certain new facts and suggesting that the dramatist's wife was not, as has been commonly stated, the actress, Ann Gibbs.

The interest in Samuel Pepys seems to be increasing rather than diminishing. The excellently printed three-volume edition of the Wheatley text undoubtedly will aid in popularizing still further these memoirs,⁶ and all scholars must be grateful to the publishers for having produced this more moderately priced and, at the same time, handier edition of a work more frequently consulted in libraries than in the study. Besides this reprint, however, critical work of various kinds continues to appear from the presses. Following the lead of Mr. Bradford, Mr. J. Lucas-Dubreton and Mr. Tanner have both produced character-sketches of the man, Pepys. Mr. Lucas-Dubreton⁷ essays to reduce the whole diary to a kind of continuous narrative, with verbs in the present tense and epigrammatic turns of phrase; but, after reading his work, we turn with relief to the Diary

⁶ *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* . . . ed. with Additions by Henry B. Wheatley. Bell. 3 vols. (India paper). pp. lx+371, 385, 514. 42s. net.

⁷ *Samuel Pepys: A Portrait in Miniature*, by J. Lucas-Dubreton. Translated from the French by H. J. Stenning. Philpot. pp. 280. 7s. 6d. net.

itself. There can be no biographer of Pepys; the man's whole being shines so clearly and so illuminatingly in the pages of his journal that we need no interpreter. Mr. Tanner⁸ has taken another—a less difficult and a more profitable—track. Instead of uttering polished sentences embodying the matter of the Diary, he has attempted to provide a Guide to Pepys. A Guide, certainly, is not necessary for the understanding reader, for it is only the unintelligent tourist who will not part with his Baedeker. At the same time, as Mr. Tanner notes, the Diary covers but a small portion of Pepys' career, and, we may add, Baedeker is on occasion of considerable service. Mr. Tanner's work is excellently done and we await with interest that 'larger life of Pepys' which, he informs us, is in course of preparation. The present is little more than a popular survey, however scholarly its preparation may be.

A foretaste of the larger life is given in Mr. Tanner's edition of Pepys' private correspondence.⁹ An excellent Introduction prepares the reader for the riches of epistolary and other documentary material presented in the two volumes. This is a book to be studied in detail, and hardly any indication of the wealth of its contents can be given here. A considerable number of the documents, of course, concern the historian rather than the *littérateur*, although even the Navy papers must interest those who have been infected by the unconscious charm of Pepys' writing. Still more fascinating are the letters by and to Evelyn—Evelyn with his formal style freely ornamented by Latin tags, Pepys with his thoroughgoing directness, obviously changed at times owing to a wish to copy richer models. Fascinating, too, is the letter (dated 22 Nov. 1693) addressed to no less a person than Sir Isaac Newton, propounding the query:

A has 6 dyes in a box, with which he is to fling a six.

B has in another box 12 dyes, with which he is to fling
2 sixes.

⁸ *Mr. Pepys: An Introduction to the Diary, together with a Sketch of his Later Life*, by J. R. Tanner. Bell. pp. xv + 308. 7s. 6d. net

⁹ *Private Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Samuel Pepys, 1679–1703, in the Possession of J. Pepys Cockerell*, ed. by J. R. Tanner. Bell. 2 vols. pp. xlv + 382. 36s.

C has in another box 18 dyes, with which he is to fling 3 sixes.

Q. Whether *B* and *C* have not as easy a task as *A* at even luck?

This letter was printed by Braybrooke but not all the ensuing correspondence was known. On December 9th Pepys renews his query: on the 16th Newton replies learnedly from Cambridge; on the 21st Pepys declares himself still unsatisfied; Mr. Tollet is called in to give his opinion; a certain J. J. discusses the conclusions of both; on the 23rd Newton writes again; Tollet is still concerned with the problem on Feb. 8, 1694; and the question seems still to be lingering for some time later. A good deal of the correspondence is occupied by John Jackson, who receives full details concerning his Grand Tour and who writes voluminously concerning his travels, his money affairs and the sights he has seen. It is this John Jackson who in May 1703 notes down the exact hour of his uncle's departure, 'by his gold watch'. Altogether, two fascinating volumes which help to throw considerable light, not only on the character of the diarist himself, but upon those of many of his companions, colleagues, and friends. This is unquestionably one of the most important contributions to the study of Pepys since the appearance of Wheatley's edition of the Diary; its importance, however, making us no less grateful for the more modest notes of individual students, such as the interesting article by Sir A. E. Shipley on *Mr. Pepys as a Man of Science* (*Quart. Rev.*, Oct.) and by Mr. W. Courthope Forman on *Mr. Pepys and St. Olave's Church* (*N. and Q.*, Nov. 11).

Pepys' friend and fellow diarist has found an enthusiastic apologist in Mr. E. Gordon Craig (*The Mask*, April, July, Oct. 1924). Mr. Craig has no use for the gossipy Pepys who loved the tinsel of the stage, but discovers a model spectator and observer in John Evelyn. Mr. Craig's articles, which trace Evelyn's continental tour, are entertainingly written and are happily embellished with a series of valuable reproductions of little-known plans and views. While mentioning this series of articles by Mr. Gordon Craig the attention of students may be called to the very important reproductions in *The Mask* of old section maps of Rome, Paris, and London.

Although these maps are of the eighteenth century the fundamental characteristics of the cities carry back well into the preceding age. A particular aspect of Evelyn's wide interests is treated, also, by Mr. W. Barclay Squire in *Evelyn and Music* (*T. L. S.*, Dec. 10). Students of seventeenth-century literature too often pass by the musical enthusiasm of the period, and this article serves an excellent purpose in calling attention to an often neglected subject.

Finally may be noted a number of miscellanea which deal with minor features of Restoration literature. Professor Mario Praz has been doing excellent work lately on the metaphysical poets, and in his articles on *Stanley, Sherburne, and Ayres as Translators and Imitators of Italian, Spanish, and French Poets* (*M. L. R.*, July and Oct.) he has at least touched on Restoration ground, for Philip Ayres produced his *Lyric Poems Made in Imitation of the Italians* in the year 1687. Professor Praz's skill in detecting literary parallels is well-nigh amazing, and he has succeeded in tracing almost all the sources of Ayres's verses. Marino, Preti, Achillini, Tassoni, de la Vega, Quevedo, Abati, Guarini, and Petrarca are all imitated or translated here, and we seem to see in this collection a relic of the old sonneteering fashion when Petrarca, Serafino, and Desportes lorded it over whole realms of English literature.

In *R. E. S.* (April) Mr. Thorn-Drury has notes on an unrecorded issue of Jordan's *Money is an Asse*, under the title *Wealth out-witted: Or, Money's an Ass*, and on an equally unknown *Song for St. Cecilia's Day* (1686) by Thomas Flatman. Another note by Mr. Thorn-Drury in the same periodical for January announces the discovery of the burial record (20 March, 1684) of Matthew Stevenson. Mr. Dennis Arundell endeavours (*T. L. S.*, June 4) to identify the play of *Squire Trelooby* with *The Gordian Knot Untied*, bringing forward some facts which go far towards proving his theory, although Mr. W. J. Lawrence (June 11) finds himself dissatisfied with the evidence.

These last scattered notes indicate the many diverse minor problems which are being attempted by various students. The research work goes well ahead with the literary appreciation, and out of the two a clearer and still clearer view of the period as a whole is slowly being obtained.

X

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

[By EDITH J. MORLEY]

IN this survey of last year's work bearing upon the eighteenth century the first place is given to reprints.

The 'Abbey Classics' are among the most attractive of these at a cheap rate, and *Roxana*¹ is as welcome as the others of the series. Defoe's romances are interesting documents and it is well that they are being made accessible to a wider public.

In a biographical note at the end of his beautiful reprint² of *The Rape of the Lock*, Mr. Hugh Macdonald says that while it is based typographically on the octavo of 1714, and reproduces its illustrations, it is not intended to be a facsimile. On the contrary, the text 'has been set up from an octavo of 1718 which gives . . . the text of 1717, while preserving the format and illustrations of 1714' and incorporating the altered readings of 1735 and 1751.

Dr. Teerink has for the first time accurately reprinted *The History of John Bull*³ from the original pamphlets and carefully collated the text with that of the 1727 edition, from which he also adds the foot-notes. Further, he has made an exhaustive investigation into the disputed authorship, which has led to the conviction that the evidence in favour of Swift is overwhelming. 'In the manner of thought, style or expression', he writes, 'there is hardly a page in the five tracts where we do not meet

¹ *Roxana: The Fortunate Mistress*, by Daniel Defoe, ed. by R. Brimley Johnson. Simpkin Marshall. pp. xii + 322. 3s. 6d. net.

² *The Rape of the Lock*, by Mr. Pope. Haslewood Reprint. Etchells & Macdonald. pp. 60. 7s. 6d. net. Limited edition of 725 copies.

³ *The History of John Bull for the first time faithfully reissued from the original pamphlets, 1712, together with an investigation into its composition, publication and authorship*, by Dr. H. Teerink. Amsterdam: H. Paris. pp. 250.

with some indication of Swift's hand. The parallels, drawn chiefly from *The Examiners*, *The Conduct of the Allies*, and *A Tale of a Tub*, are clear and unmistakable.' Dr. Teerink disposes of Swift's 'definite assertions in the *Journal* that Arbuthnot is the writer' by the theory that Arbuthnot supplied certain 'hints' which his friend worked out, e. g. 'the allegorical treatment of the war as a lawsuit of long duration, entailing great expenses and debts'. It is known that Arbuthnot made similar suggestions in other cases, *inter alia*, *A History of the Mauks of Honour since Harry the Eighth*, and the same example shows that Swift 'thought that not the author, but the originator of the idea, ought to pass for the father of the piece'. The modern practice is different, and Dr. Teerink has fairly established the case for Swift's authorship, and at the same time settled a long-standing critical difficulty.

Of the Golden Cockerel edition of Swift's *Directions to Servants*⁴ no criticism is required beyond the statement that it is equal to the best of the series—a true *édition de luxe*. Paper, print, spacing, are alike beautiful, and the illustrations are worthy of their setting.

How Cibber would have rejoiced to finger the sumptuous Golden Cockerel edition⁵ of his *Apology*, with its beautiful type and paper, finding in it, doubtless, full compensation for the neglect of his other writings and even for Pope's attacks. But indeed the *Apology* cannot be neglected, even in the shabby calf bindings to which we are accustomed, for it gives us the very stuff of the comedy of manners, and a series of stage portraits which no lover of theatrical history would willingly let die.

We are not altogether clear why the reprint is from the 1756 instead of one of the 1740 editions. Possibly this accounts for the absence of the sub-title—*With an Historical View of the Stage during his Own Time*—which casts real light on the contents of the book.

⁴ *Directions to Servants*, by Jonathan Swift, with Decorations by John Nash. The Golden Cockerel Press. pp. 36. 18s. 6d. net.

⁵ *An Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber, written by Himself*. The Golden Cockerel Press. Two vols. pp. xii + 160 and 164. Limited edition of 450 copies. 36s.

Nor are we reconciled to the 'modern modifications of spelling and punctuation', which spoil the flavour of a book so typically of its own age that we grudge even the loss of an old-fashioned capital. Moreover, it would not be difficult to show that the 'modern modifications' are only partially carried out and leave one in doubt whether they are even intended to be consistent.

These are, however, minor points which do not seriously detract from the beauty of this edition.

In a 'Textual Note' ⁶ at the end of the beautiful Porpoise Press reprint of Fergusson's *Scots Poems*, Mr. Bruce Dickins calls attention to the universal corruption of the text in editions subsequent to the author's death in 1774. This is due 'in part to carelessness of editors or printers, in part the result of attempts to reduce what we have every reason to believe is Fergusson's own language and orthography to a real or fanciful standard'. In the present edition the original text is restored, the poems being reproduced in the traditional order and 'as exactly as may be from the latest print which the author could possibly have overseen'.

The Garrick Playbook edition ⁷ of *Tom Thumb the Great* is one of a series of old plays designed for amateur production on an improvised 'Elizabethan' stage with the simplest of curtain-scenery and properties. The scenes are very slightly shortened to fit them for modern production and there are full directions for the production, and 'considerably amplified' stage directions. There are also notes on the life and work of Fielding and on *Tom Thumb*. The edition should help to revive interest in a play which used to be extremely popular and which is still full of vitality while the heroic drama, which it burlesques, is forgotten by all but students.

Mr. Beresford's handy and excellent selection of Gray's *Letters* ⁸

⁶ *Scots Poems*, by Robert Fergusson, faithfully reprinted from *The Weekly Magazine* and the editions of 1773 and 1779. Porpoise Press. Limited edition of 550 copies. pp. xii + 92.

⁷ *Tom Thumb the Great*, by Henry Fielding. Ed. by John Hampden. Wells, Gardner & Darton. pp. xxxviii + 50. 2s. net.

⁸ *Letters of Thomas Gray*, selected by John Beresford. O.U.P. pp. xxii + 396. 2s. net.

'ranges over the whole and actually contains about one-half of all Gray's letters', and, like other volumes in the World's Classics, it is obtainable for two shillings. There seems little to add to this bald statement of fact, except an endorsement of the editor's summary that 'The letters . . . contain not only the most charming, but the only really adequate account of a personality fascinating in an extraordinary degree'. Mr. Beresford includes Gray's *Journal* of his visit to the Lake District in 1769, and bases the text of the letters on Tovey's standard edition and on Dr. Paget Toynbee's *Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West, and Ashton*.

Mr. Rice Oxley has edited another volume⁹ of Smollett—*Humphry Clinker*—for the World's Classics, and in an introduction of not quite ten pages manages to compress a large amount of excellent criticism.

A very useful reprint of *Peter Wilkins*,¹⁰ which first appeared anonymously in 1751, will be welcome to all who are interested in those tales of adventure in imaginary lands which followed in the wake of *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver*. It would have been still more serviceable had it contained an adequate introduction dealing with the author's life and the bibliography of his book.

The story begins in the familiar fashion. The hero, after many adventures, is shipwrecked by himself near the South Pole. He is carried 'thro' a subterraneous Cavern into a kind of new World', where he lives alone until he mates with a flying woman and goes with her among her people, of whose laws, customs, and manners he gives an account. He introduces new schemes of government, which are fully described and are extremely interesting, their date and purport being taken into consideration. The Utopian plans are a foretaste of the Revolutionary ideas which were already becoming popular, while the story itself shows great powers of imagination.

⁹ *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, by Tobias Smollett. Ed. by L. Rice Oxley. O.U.P. pp. xx + 440. 2s. net.

¹⁰ *The Life and Adventures of Peter Wilkins, a Cornishman by R. S. a passenger in the Hector*, by Robert Paltock. Dulau. pp. 416. 8s. 6d. net.

It is difficult to understand why the book has not been more widely known in recent years, particularly to those interested in the movement of thought in the eighteenth century. This reprint should gain it the larger audience which, on its merits, it deserves.

Mr. Partridge has done a painstaking piece of work in republishing the poems¹¹ of Cuthbert Shaw and Thomas Russell, who, apart from the fact that neither of them is a great poet, have little in common but the too complete oblivion into which they have fallen. Boswell quotes Johnson's opinion that Shaw was 'distinguished by his genius, misfortunes, and misconduct'. There is little or nothing in his printed remains to prove the existence of 'genius'. He lived from 1738 to 1771, and his satire, *The Race*, shows the influence of *The Dunciad*—an attack on the critics in a rather feeble imitation of the master. His *Monody to the Memory of a Young Lady* (his wife) and *An Evening Address to a Nightingale*, memorial verses to his little daughter, show some feeling but not much originality. And beyond these there is not much to indicate that Shaw ranked above other journalistic versifiers of the age.

Russell (1762–88) is of more importance because he wrote at least one good sonnet, that on Philoctetes, and some others, notably those on Oxford, which are well above the usual standard of eighteenth-century sonneteers. The resemblance to those of his school-fellow, Bowles, is worthy of note: both poets, as Sir Edmund Gosse pointed out, owe something to their study of Petrarch. Russell was not undervalued by his immediate successors: Southey, Landor, Wordsworth, all knew and appreciated the Philoctetes sonnet. But on the whole we need not desire or expect the lasting resuscitation of anything else which he wrote. Since he overvalues neither of them, Mr. Partridge's edition is presumably addressed primarily to students. To make it easy to consult, it requires a list of the titles or first lines of the poems and the pages on which they may be found; further, the headline of the pages—*The Poems of Shaw and Russell*—is anything but helpful when combined with the lack of index.

¹¹ *The Poems of Cuthbert Shaw and Thomas Russell*, ed. by Eric Partridge. Dulau. pp. 166. 7s. 6d. net. Limited edition of 575 copies.

Mr. Nigel Playfair has proved in practice, to the satisfaction of many thousand spectators, that which he claims in his introduction to the sumptuous edition¹² of *The Duenna*—namely, that the critics are wrong when they say that Sheridan did not produce an effective comic opera for the stage when he wrote that high-spirited play.

The reprint and the illustrations by Mr. Sheringham, which include designs for the costumes and scenery used at the Hammersmith revival, are admirably produced.

The volume of Sheridan¹³ included in 'Les Cent Chefs-d'œuvre étrangers' contains translations of *The School for Scandal* and of two acts of *The Critic* which appear to be quite satisfactorily done. It is partly original, partly taken from the older versions of Laroche (1841) and Bonnet. In his brief introduction Professor Barbeau includes the biography of Sheridan and an account of his plays.

Mrs. Sheridan's *Discovery*¹⁴ was first acted and printed in 1763, since when the taste for 'sentimental comedy' has disappeared. Mr. Aldous Huxley, at Mr. Nigel Playfair's suggestion, has modernized her play by getting rid of what Lear called 'the "sickly suavity" of its conclusion'; 'the whole of the last act' and those parts of the others which he considers too genteel and sentimental for the modern stage. His additions, omissions, and emendations are not noted in the text, but he is convinced that 'an observant eye can always detect their position'. We are not so sure, but, at any rate, the play as printed is good reading and it was worth while to rescue it from oblivion, even if 'the ghost of poor Mrs. Sheridan has every right to feel indignant'.

¹² *The Duenna*, by R. Brinsley Sheridan, with an introduction by Nigel Playfair, and illustrated by George Sheringham. Constable. pp. xxviii + 106. 21s. net.

¹³ *L'École de la Médisance*, par Sheridan. Traduction nouvelle avec une introduction et notes, par A. Barbeau. Paris. La Renaissance du Livre. pp. 170. 3s. 6d. net. 5 frs.

¹⁴ *The Discovery, A Comedy*, by Mrs. Frances Sheridan, adapted for the Modern Stage, by Aldous Huxley. Chatto & Windus. 1924. pp. xii + 122. 5s. net.

Attention should be called to the excellent series of cheap reprints of eighteenth-century comedies,¹⁵ edited by Professor Nicoll and issued by the O.U.P. They are a welcome addition to popular editions of literary texts.

‘When Garrick’s . . . farces, and the comedies of the fools that pay court to him are the delight of the age, it does not deserve anything better.’ Thus cynically, Horace Walpole. In Miss Osborn’s pleasant reprint,¹⁶ modern readers may estimate for themselves the value of three of Garrick’s best farces, and decide between Walpole’s verdict and that of the editor, who thinks ‘they furnish a copious supply of genuine if obvious humour and reveal the ingenuity of the great theatrical genius of the [eighteenth] century’. None of the plays in this volume has been reprinted since 1850.

Mr. R. B. Adam continues to add to our indebtedness by permitting the reproduction of the unique treasures in his Johnson collection. The extract from *Boswell’s Note Book*¹⁷ now printed by the O.U.P. is one of the most valuable in the series. For it is possible by comparison of the note-book with the published version to watch Boswell in process of turning his raw material into the work of art which has been transmitted to us. ‘Boswell was not a stenographer; and it is prudent to remember that what he gives us is not always—perhaps is not very often—*ipsissima verba*.’ It is pleasant to be able to prove the fact for ourselves as well as to rediscover, what the facsimile proof-sheets had already taught us by ‘ocular demonstration’, that Boswell took untiring pains to secure accuracy of detail. A single instance of his method must here suffice:—‘*Note Book*: He said

¹⁵ *The Jealous Wife*, by George Colman: *The Way to Keep Him*, by Arthur Murphy. O.U.P. English Comedies of the Eighteenth Century, ed. by Allardyce Nicoll. pp. viii + 120 and viii + 132. Each 1s. net.

¹⁶ *Three Farces by David Garrick; The Lying Valet; A Peep behind the Curtain; Bon Ton*, ed. by Louise Brown Osborn. Yale University Press; O.U.P. pp. xii + 136. 7s. 6d. net.

¹⁷ *Boswell’s Note Book, 1776–1777*. Now first published from the unique original in the collection of R. B. Adam, with the corresponding passages from the first edition of the *Life* printed on opposite pages. O.U.P. pp. xxiv + 39. 3s. 6d. net.

it was liberal and noble in Dr. Adams to say he was above his mark. *Life*: Dr. Adams paid Johnson this high compliment. He said to me at Oxford in 1776, "I was his nominal tutor, but he was above my mark". When I repeated it to Johnson, his eyes flashed with grateful satisfaction, and he exclaimed, "That was liberal and noble". There is no need to labour the superiority of the finished version.

The publication of selected letters of Johnson¹⁸ in the World's Classics is an event of some importance to Johnsonians, for this is the first cheap edition to make them easily accessible. Yet the letters are so characteristic of the man and of the writer that they form the best possible introduction to himself and his works and the most satisfactory commentary and supplement to the *Life*. As Mr. Chapman says in his admirable introduction, the letters are 'remarkable for their range and variety'; they illustrate the unusual number of Johnson's friends and acquaintances and his power to suit his style to the correspondent he is addressing, while, at the same time, they 'exhibit many sides of their writer's life and character'. The big guns of the famous letter to Lord Chesterfield may here be contrasted with the tenderness of allusions to his wife and mother, the pathos of his sorrow at their loss, the playfulness of his letters to Mrs. Thrale or Fanny Burney, or the children whom he delighted to befriend, or the genuine affection of those to Boswell; sincerity, humour, wisdom, and knowledge of life are everywhere apparent, however variously expressed. As one reads, one feels inclined to contradict absolutely the ignorant assertion that Johnson lives only, or mainly, in the pages of Boswell. In the letters, as in many other places, he is the great writer who knows how to achieve 'the other harmony of prose' and to sound every note in its gamut.

Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands* is one of the most illuminating of his works, illustrating as it does his interest in everything which concerns humanity. As Mr. Freeman says in his introduction to the Abbey Classics edition,¹⁹ 'we do not

¹⁸ *Letters of Samuel Johnson, a Selection*, with an introduction by R. W. C[hapman]. O.U.P. pp. xx + 268. 2s. net.

¹⁹ *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, by Samuel Johnson, with an introduction by John Freeman. Chapman & Dodd. 1924. pp. xvi + 240. 3s. 6d. net.

read his book for its information, but for pleasure in its author'. For all the details of the journey we turn rather to the pages of Boswell, whose *Tour to the Hebrides* shows the writer's interest in the man, not in men. This reprint of the *Journey* is all we have learned to expect from the Abbey Classics: it can be thoroughly recommended.

The same may be said of the reprint in *The Pilgrim's Series*,²⁰ which is still cheaper, and has nevertheless the additional advantages of a map and a brief index. It lacks an introduction, however.

The *Lives of the Poets*²¹ is another welcome addition to the Everyman series, which now nearly attains the aim of the founder to bring the principal classics within reach of all who desire to possess them. Mrs. Archer-Hind contributes a fairly adequate if not very profound introduction, and a list of Johnson's writings is also prefixed.

The Prologue²² written by Johnson for Garrick to speak at a performance of *Comus* for the benefit of Milton's granddaughter and sole surviving descendant in 1750 is one of the Clarendon Press facsimile reprints. This particular one is even more welcome than some of the others, since it is from a very scarce original and is not usually included in editions of Johnson's poems. 'The present reprint has been set up from a copy of the original in the possession of Professor R. W. Rogers and the proof read with the British Museum copy.' Johnson's *Postscript* written to Lauder's notorious *Essay on Milton's Use and Imitation of the Moderns* is also included in the booklet.

Mr. Merritt was very fortunate to secure, at an auction in 1908, a manuscript book in which Mrs. Piozzi (Thrale) jotted down any notes or 'literary odds and ends' which interested her. This book she entitled *Minced Meat for Pyes*, and it appears to have

²⁰ *Johnson's Journey to the Hebrides*. Allan. pp. x + 230. 2s. net.

²¹ *Lives of the English Poets*, by Samuel Johnson, with an introduction by Mrs. L. Archer-Hind. Dent. Everyman's Library. Two vols. pp. xviii + 396 and viii + 392. Each 2s. net.

²² *Prologue written by Samuel Johnson and spoken by David Garrick at a Benefit-Performance of Comus, April 1750*. Reproduced in Type Facsimile. O.U.P. pp. xvi. 4s. 6d. net. Limited edition of 500 copies.

been in use from somewhere about 1795 until 1820, the year before her death. At the same sale he purchased her own annotated copy of *Retrospection*, and, not long afterwards, another copy of that ambitious work annotated by her for her friend, the actor, William Augustus Conway. Mr. Merritt has used these three 'finds' as sources from which to form a volume of *Piozzi Marginalia*²³ which is of outstanding interest. The extracts and the author's comments upon them provide a good deal of fresh information about Mrs. Piozzi and her circle, and there are also some admirable reproductions of the manuscript.

Mr. Merritt has done his work with much judgement, and his biographical sketch of Mrs. Piozzi and comments upon her writings and upon the extracts neither exaggerate nor underestimate her importance. The notes, he says, 'are of uneven interest; many of them are included solely from their association, or by reason of their reference to the literary figures of the times; but, at all events, they are generally characteristic of the writer'. He adds that it is possible his study of them may have led to loss of 'a proper sense of proportion under the fascinating spell of what in time comes to be a real and vivid personality'. The fear is groundless; Mr. Merritt's scholarly little book revivifies his subject and helps his readers to realize not only her attraction for Dr. Johnson in middle life, but also the vigour of mind which retained the power to appraise poets of a new order—Scott or Byron—until the end. Hester Thrale was not a great writer, nor does Mr. Merritt imply that she was. But his *Marginalia* proves afresh that she merits her place in the literary history of the eighteenth century.

Messrs. Dent's reprint of Glover's²⁴ edition of Boswell's *Life* is a marvel of cheapness in these days of expensive books, and is one of the most attractive and trustworthy editions procurable—

²³ *Piozzi Marginalia comprising Extracts from MSS. of Hester Lynch Piozzi and Annotations from her Books*, ed. by Percival Merritt. Harvard University Press; O.U.P. pp. xii + 210. 12s. 6d. net.

²⁴ *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, ed. by Arnold Glover, Introduction by Austin Dobson. Illustrated with 20 photogravure portraits and about 100 line drawings by Herbert Railton. Dent. 3 vols. pp. xl + 458 and viii + 464 and viii + 466. 32s. 6d. net.

well bound, printed, and indexed, light to hold, and containing all the information required for full appreciation of the text without that excess which is the danger of erudition. It can be warmly recommended to all those who can be satisfied with something less than the finality of Birkbeck Hill's edition—which it does not attempt to rival.

Mr. Marshall has attempted an almost impossible task in undertaking an abridgement²⁵ of *Boswell's Life* which shall 'preserve the proportions of his portrait'. He has done wisely to select the bulk of his quotations from the period when Boswell knew Johnson and to put the 'record of previous years into an introductory chapter.' And he has chosen many of the best-known passages in the *Life* and not disturbed the reader by any interpolations of his own.

The third volume of the *Supplement to the Letters of Horace Walpole*²⁶ contains 105 new letters, making a total 'to date' of 3,424 letters, and upwards of 150 letters addressed to him, most of which were preserved in the Waller collection and marked by their recipient as 'for illustration', 'with a view to their eventual utilization in the annotation of his own letters'. The reader's indebtedness to Dr. Paget Toynbee grows with each new instalment of his work, which is in all respects a model of what such editing, annotation, and indexing should be.

It is too late in the day to undertake an evaluation of Walpole as a letter-writer—not too late, however, to rejoice at the preservation of unexpected finds such as these which Dr. Toynbee has collected. For while it is possible for one reader to prefer the letters of Cowper, another those of Gray or of Lamb, Walpole's correspondence stands indisputably first as an historical record of a period as full of interest as any in the annals of Britain. Nor do any of his rivals introduce us to so brilliant and representative a society. Partly by the accident of his birth, partly by his wide interest in the men and women with whom he mixed,

²⁵ *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, abridged and arranged by Archibald Marshall. Collins. 1924. pp. 384. 8s. 6d. net.

²⁶ *Supplement to the Letters of Horace Walpole, chronologically arranged and edited with Notes and Indices*, vol. iii, 1744–97, by Paget Toynbee. O.U.P. pp. xxxi + 452. 12s. 6d. net, 15s. net, and 21s. net.

partly, too, by his recognition of the direction in which his genius could best unfold itself, Walpole's letters give us a unique opportunity to enter the aristocratic eighteenth-century circles in which he moved so easily, and to become with him a citizen of 'the world'. For he is, and must remain, the typical fine gentleman, cultured, intelligent, well-read, a virtuoso, whose good breeding, as well as his gifts of heart and mind, help to reanimate a society which can never completely vanish while his letters remain accessible to us.

The interest of the volume is greatly enhanced by the inclusion of letters addressed to Walpole by many and varied correspondents—his tutor, Whaley, his father, Lord Bute, David Garrick, Hume, the highwayman who had robbed him—to mention only a few of them.

Messrs. Rawlinson and Dunlop have managed to make a single volume ²⁷ (362 pages) of selections fairly representative of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, and, since many are deterred by the size of the complete work, no doubt their labour will not be in vain. The book is attractively printed and illustrated.

The reprint of *Newton's Autobiography* ²⁸ is useful in making accessible a document of perennial interest in casting light on the religious revival at the end of the eighteenth century, and more particularly on the mind of the ex-slave driver whose conversion had such a dire effect on Cowper. It is an historical document of importance which we may be grateful to Dr. Hamilton for reprinting, though we may not share his interpretation of its significance.

It is always pleasant to meet Cowper in his letters, and the *Everyman* ²⁹ selection is cheap, companionable, and satisfactory. The editor has grouped the chosen letters under various headings—Cowper's Life, References to his Poetry, His Character, and so

²⁷ *Selections from Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, by H. G. Rawlinson and W. N. W. Dunlop. Longman's. pp. xviii + 362. 6s. net.

²⁸ *Out of the Depths. Autobiography of John Newton*. Prefaces by F. J. Hamilton. 2nd edition. Farncombe. pp. viii + 210. 2s. 6d. net.

²⁹ *The Letters of William Cowper*, selected and arranged by William Hadley. Dent. pp. xii + 387. 2s. net.

forth—which are helpful or disturbing according to one's point of view: the writer prefers the desultoriness and variety of merely chronological arrangement. But this is a matter of taste, and it may well be that the present method has the advantage claimed for it in the introduction, of serving 'not only to illustrate Cowper's life, his character and opinions, but also to throw light on the period to which he belonged'.

A reprint of Young's *Tour in Ireland*³⁰ was long overdue, and Miss Maxwell is to be thanked for her admirable volume of selections, which contains all that is required by the general reader, though, as she remarks in her prefatory note, 'the student of agriculture will naturally wish to consult a complete edition'. Young shirked no discomforts in his endeavours to 'penetrate into the most remote places', and he observed carefully and carefully set down an account of what he had observed on his travels. His facts and figures are equally reliable, though, as Miss Maxwell observes, he was a man of 'views and prejudices', whose ideal was the agricultural, not the commercial state, and who 'judged everything from that standpoint'. Thus he ignores the historic past or treats it very cursorily; he is not interested in antiquities, he avoids politics, but he is an 'apostle of the new scientific agriculture', and he understands what he advocates. In his survey of contemporary conditions he is still the chief authority for the state of Ireland at the end of the eighteenth century.

Miss Maxwell's notes are brief, scholarly, and to the point, and the illustrations she has chosen, though few in number, add to the value of a very interesting volume.

Mr. Brimley Johnson has conferred a benefit on his readers by making so attractive a selection³¹ of Hannah More's letters that they are able to realize the reasons for her reputation as a woman of letters as no perusal of her plays or of *Cœlebs in*

³⁰ *A Tour in Ireland . . . made in the Years 1776, 1777 and 1778*, by Arthur Young. Selected and edited by Constantia Maxwell. C.U.P. pp. xxii + 7s. 6d. net.

³¹ *The Letters of Hannah More*, selected by R. Brimley Johnson. Lane. pp. xii + 212. 6s. net.

Search of a Wife could enable them to do. The letters reveal a very delightful personality—shrewd, humorous, and full of the milk of human kindness. The evangelical morality which produced her solemn tracts is present, for it is part and parcel of her best self. But while it sobers her natural gaiety it does not prevent her enjoyment of innocent pleasures. Among these, in her earlier life, she counted intercourse with the wits, and her intimacy with the Garricks, with Dr. Johnson, and with the blue-stockings provides her with the subject-matter of many of her letters to her family. Her remarks about people and about literature are full of good sense, and the fact that she knew 'everybody' makes her London correspondence extraordinarily interesting. In a different way, so too are the letters about village life and the schools, which deal with the 'good works' to which so much of her time was devoted. One ends by feeling with Mr. Johnson that with all her limitations, her narrowness, snobbishness, fear of 'enthusiasm' and the like, the secret of her success lies in her 'untiring energy and self-sacrifice'. Few people can more consistently have lived according to the principles of religion and of conduct they have deliberately adopted. Still fewer can have at the same time retained their sense of humour and love of their fellows.

In his *Scottish Poems of Robert Burns*,³² Sir James Wilson continues the useful work begun in his *Dialect of Robert Burns*.³³ He there discussed the Ayrshire dialect of Burns in detail, gave an approximate phonetic alphabet—unfortunately not in any recognized phonetic script—and transcribed some specimen verses. In the present volume he reprints his alphabet, and, after it, a large number of the Kilmarnock poems, first as they appeared in that edition, next in his phonetic rendering 'with each word spelt as it is now pronounced in Central Ayrshire', and, lastly, 'translated into ordinary English prose'. Sir James points out that, in his Scottish poems, Burns often introduces verses which he obviously meant to be pronounced as standard English; these have been left as they stand. For the rest, the

³² *Scottish Poems of Robert Burns in his Native Dialect*, by Sir James Wilson. O.U.P. pp. 364. 7s. 6d. net.

³³ See *The Year's Work*, vol. iv, pp. 187-8.

English reader has now the means at hand to read and to understand the dialect used by the poet in some of his greatest poems. As Dr. McNaught points out in his *Foreword*, a large proportion of his lyrics do not lend themselves to such treatment, since the few and unimportant Scots words they contain present little difficulty to the general reader.

Though somewhat late in the day, the writer wishes to call attention to vol. iii of the *Diary of the Earl of Egmont*,³⁴ 1739-47, which was edited on behalf of the Historical MSS. Commission by Mr. R. A. Roberts, with an Index by Miss A. H. Roberts. It is a volume of absorbing interest which has as its main theme 'the transactions of the Georgia Colony . . . and the vicissitudes, hopes and fears . . . connected with the history of the province'. Chiefly in connexion with the development of Georgia, the volume gives considerable information about Whitefield and his missionary efforts; it contains also many references to the 'falling fortunes' of Sir Robert Walpole and the political intrigues and court history of the time, as well as much that concerns Lord Egmont's personal affairs. The *Diary* is indispensable to students of the period, and the comprehensive index makes it easy to consult.

Stephen Burroughs,³⁵ described by the editor of his *Memoirs* as 'the type of the Eternal Scamp' cannot be better characterized. He was the son of a New Hampshire clergyman and born in the sixties of the eighteenth century. Judged by his own account of himself he was a rascal from his childhood, and the story of his adventures might have no other interest than that of any other jail-bird, but for the consummate, hypocritical impudence which elevates him almost to the heights of Jonathan Wild. Burroughs started his mature life as a bogus parson: he ended it as a Catholic penitent and schoolmaster; between those periods his most prosperous time was when he manufactured and passed

³⁴ *Historical MSS. Commission. MSS. of the Earl of Egmont. Diary of the first Earl of Egmont. Vol. III, 1739-1747, with Appendices and Index.* H.M. Stationery Office. 1923. pp. 542. 10s. net.

³⁵ *Memoirs of the Notorious Stephen Burroughs, with a preface by Robert Frost.* Cape. 1924. pp. xiv + 368. 12s. 6d. net.

counterfeit money. He seasons his story with 'religious' meditations, and is said to have ended by a genuine conversion. Be this as it may, the interest of his *Memoirs* lies not in his repentance but in the tale of his evil doings and his hypocritical explanations of his conduct. 'As a document bearing on the cultural conditions' in the U.S.A. at the end of the eighteenth century it is also of great importance, but primarily it may be commended as a first-rate rogue's romance with all the added virtue that comes from fact instead of fiction.

The republication of the diary of Thomas Turner,³⁶ mercer, grocer, general dealer, and some time schoolmaster of East Hoathly, Sussex, provides a valuable contribution to our knowledge of 'the background of English literature'—to borrow Professor Grierson's useful phrase. This record of the everyday life of an English village in the time of Fielding and Smollett is an amusing and revealing corroboration of the picture of life which they paint for us. Turner's mixture of Calvinistic piety, honesty, drunken habits, good intentions, and many lapses from virtue not only convinces one that the diary is a genuine self-portrayal, but also that it is a characteristic document of the times. We hear about the roistering parties which he frequented, of the temptations to over-drinking which they offered; of the way in which the village parson and his wife took at least a full share in all the horse-play that went on; of the good sermons preached by this same parson, and the strictness with which he and Mr. Turner, churchwarden, enforced the laws against Sunday drinking and Sunday dealing, however they might themselves yield to temptation in the evening. We participate in the fears of the expected French invasion, and rejoice at the year of victories—as these things presented themselves to Sussex villagers. As we read Turner's meditations on death, or his various attempts to regulate his life in accordance with rationalistic principles, his comments on *Paradise Lost* or *Clarissa Harlowe*, or his thoughts on marriage and single life, and contrast them with the accounts of hilarious junketings and coarse revelry,

³⁶ *The Diary of Thomas Turner of East Hoathly, Sussex (1754-1765)*, ed. by Florence Maris Turner, with an Introduction by J. B. Priestley. Lane. pp. xxxii + 112. 4s. 6d. net.

we are constrained to find a resemblance between this picture of low life and the London society already familiar in both books and pictures. The eighteenth century is never more surprising than in the sudden gradations from Goldsmith's 'disgusting solemnity' and formalism to the barbarous amusements indulged in alike by all sections of the community. This diary of a remote village deserves the wider public to which it is now accessible.

Mrs. Wyndham's *Chronicles of the Eighteenth Century*³⁷ deals with the fortunes of the Lyttleton family in peace and in war, at home, in society, and in politics, during a period when their importance in Church and State was undoubted. As she says, 'other men's lives and the history of the times are closely woven in', and the picture she presents is full of interest. Possibly students of literature may turn first to the account of George Lyttleton's literary friendships with Thomson and Shenstone and Warburton and Pope, or to that of his intercourse with Mrs. Montagu and the blue-stockings. But the chapters dealing with the state of the navy and the trial of Admiral Byng, with political squabbles, family life, the building of Hagley, and landscape gardening are equally interesting. The editor's work is extremely well done and her annotations and commentary are all that can be desired; she evidently knows her material intimately, but she has sufficient command of it and of herself to introduce only what she needs for her purpose and that which cannot readily be found elsewhere.

Lady Newton's *Lyme Letters*³⁸ is a continuation and amplification of *The House of Lyme* and the history of the Legh family. It consists of 'selections from a large number of letters . . . relating to the family and other personages who have figured in the past history of the house, together with references to the most stirring events of the time'. Lady Newton has done her work admirably, bringing to her task not only intimate know-

³⁷ *Chronicles of the Eighteenth Century, founded on the Correspondence of Sir Thomas Lyttelton and his Family*, by Maud Wyndham. Hodder & Stoughton. 1924. Two vols. pp. xxiv + 264 and viii + 330. 30s. net.

³⁸ *Lyme Letters, 1660-1760*, by Lady Newton. Heinemann. pp. xii + 342. 32s. 6d. net.

ledge and love for her subject, but also imagination and historical insight. As we follow the gradual unfolding of the fortunes of the family, we see them and their adventures, domestic and public, in the right perspective, and a whole chapter of the national life is revealed to us while we seem merely to become acquainted with a few individuals.

*Moritz's Travels in England in 1782*³⁹ afford a most illuminating glimpse of manners and customs at the end of the eighteenth century as viewed by an intelligent and energetic young German pastor. Moritz, to the bewilderment and contempt of the natives, walked from London to the Derbyshire Peak, and his description of his adventures, whether at the Mitre at Oxford, or at other hostelries, which refused to give shelter to a traveller on foot, is vivid and readable. The book had not been reprinted since Morley's edition in Cassell's National Library in 1887. Mr. Matheson's scholarly edition should do much to make it better known and more appreciated.

Mary Hamilton's great granddaughters claim only to have fulfilled a family duty by the publication of a portion of the papers she left behind her—diaries, correspondence, &c. But they have done much more than this. Their book⁴⁰ is a record of the age which casts much light on social and public matters, at the same time that it reveals a singularly attractive personality. Mary Hamilton, the niece of Nelson's Lady Hamilton, mixed with all the most interesting people of her day. Her court life for five or six years as one of the governesses of the princesses, corroborates and amplifies the account given by Fanny Burney a little later. She had not Fanny's satirical pen and humorous touch, but she too was a loyal and devoted admirer of the king and queen, whose roof she had almost equal difficulty in leaving. She was one of the earliest flames of the

³⁹ *Travels of Carl Philipp Moritz in England in 1782: reprint of the English Translation of 1795*, with an introduction by P. E. Matheson. O.U.P. 1924. pp. xx + 240. 3s. 6d. net.

⁴⁰ *Mary Hamilton at Court and at Home, from Letters and Diaries, 1756-1816*, ed. by her great-granddaughters, Elizabeth and Florence Anson. Murray. pp. xii + 342. 16s. net.

Prince of Wales, who, at the age of sixteen, gave every promise of his later dissipations, admitting frankly that he was already 'rather too fond of Wine and Women'. Miss Hamilton treated him and her other admirers with consummate tact, and proved her wit and her wisdom in sundry difficult moments. She mixed freely in the circles of the great; she was a friend of Mrs. Delany and the Duchess of Portland, of Elizabeth Carter, Hannah More, and Mrs. Montagu. She knew and loved Horace Walpole and Dr. Johnson (who was her 'principal Cicerone' at Oxford in 1782), and Boswell, and the Wartons, and Mrs. Garrick, from whom she quotes a remarkable account (p. 182) of Goldsmith. She tells us (p. 191) 'Mr. Boswell is one of those people with whom one instantly feels acquainted'; H. More sends her a striking criticism (p. 119) on *Cecilia* and its author; Mrs. Carter, who claims (p. 111) that 'the first point by which the Merit of every Writing ought to be Estimated, is its moral Tendency', proceeds in a letter to her to discuss *The Sorrows of Werther* with reference to this standard.

In short, the book is full of good things, and, if it leaves us with no exalted idea of Miss Hamilton's literary pretensions, that is what she herself would have desired. She had no wish to shine as a woman of letters—'an affected Femme Savante is in my opinion a most disagreeable animal' (p. 217)—though she enjoyed the arts, and music (p. 191), and she and her friends, when they 'sat upon the hay-cocks and enjoyed ourselves prodigiously', repeated verses from Homer, Milton, Pope, and Gray (p. 141). The editors have done their work unpretentiously and well, and their book is a genuine addition to our knowledge of the social history of the second half of the eighteenth century.

Lord Fife⁴¹ was a notable landowner and a remarkable personality. His letters to his factor, William Rose, together with the commentary and annotations of his great-grand-nephew and niece, Mr. and Miss Tayler, make extraordinarily interesting reading. Whether he is giving directions for training his servants or preserving his partridges, advising his factor on the wise

⁴¹ *Lord Fife and his Factor, being the Letters of James, second Lord Fife, 1729-1809*, ed. by Alistair and Henrietta Tayler. Heinemann. pp. xii+280. 21s. net.

conduct of his married life, discussing politics or deer-stalking, his wife's health or his son's education, he gains our respect equally as the great gentleman and the capable, virile man, full of energy and varied activities. His life was a long one and covered an important period; throughout, in spite of his many interests, he found time for copious correspondence. 'Seven immense cases' of letters, accounts, and business papers have been preserved, and, by a series of fortunate chances, have come into the possession of the descendants who have admirably sifted and edited them.

It was a stroke of good fortune which led Mr. Bridges, the Penzance bookseller, to discover Kelly's autobiography in an old bureau in St. Ives, and a sign of wisdom that he entrusted it to Mr. Crosbie Garstin's editing. The resulting book⁴² gives an enthralling picture of a merchant seaman's life in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and at the same time makes the reader well acquainted with Samuel Kelly, a typical British sailor of the period when Nelson and his men ruled the seas. Kelly's log, as Mr. Garstin says in his Introduction, retails everything, 'the hardships he endured, the ports he visited, the cargoes he carried, the wages he drew and paid, the food he ate, the trouble he had with his crews, his observations on winds, currents, seamanship and peccant humanity'. Its simple narrative gives the right background for our view of eighteenth-century life—the background of great exploits and heroic deeds which puts the life of 'The Town' into its right perspective. The admirably chosen illustrations comprise reproductions of old prints or contemporary paintings.

Lady Anne Barnard (*née* Lindsay), the author of *Auld Robin Gray*, spent some exciting years at the Cape, when it first came under British rule, her husband Andrew Barnard being 'Colonial Secretary to the Cape of Good Hope'. Miss Fairbridge⁴³ has edited a selection from her very interesting correspondence,

⁴² *Samuel Kelly, the Autobiography of an Eighteenth Century Seaman*, ed. by Crosbie Garstin. Cape. pp. 320. 16s. net.

⁴³ *Lady Anne Barnard at the Cape of Good Hope, 1797-1802*, by Dorothea Fairbridge. O.U.P. pp. xiv + 344. 30s. net.

mainly letters to the Earl of Macartney, the first Governor, linking these together by the necessary elucidations, biographical and historical, and reproducing many of Lady Anne's sketches. The resulting volume is of great interest from the historical and social points of view. Lady Anne's letters, especially, reveal the shrewd and intelligent observer able to reproduce her impressions with consummate skill. The picture of colonial life throws an illuminating light on the difficulties and adventures of British settlers overseas during the period of the French war. At the same time it introduces the reader to a charming and witty woman.

'She professed Mary Wollstonecraft's opinions with more zeal than discretion. This brought her into disrepute among the rigid, and her character suffered—but most undeservedly. Whatever her principles may have been, her conduct was perfectly correct.' This dictum of Crabb Robinson may be taken as a suitable prelude to the delightful volume of *The Love Letters of Mary Hays*,⁴⁴ edited by her great-grand-niece, A. F. Wedd. 'More zeal than discretion' coupled with 'perfectly correct' conduct are characteristic of Mary Hays in her first love affair as later on in life. She received her lover secretly and wrote to him surreptitiously, she indulged in a 'sensibility' unrivalled by any heroine of romance; yet she could not write in full the words *love* and *kiss*, but veiled them modestly under their initials with following asterisks in approved eighteenth-century fashion. The love-letters are fascinating reading—the romance of two delightful self-centred young prigs, who enjoy their agonies but nevertheless honestly care for each other as well as for the thrills of their adventure. For students of literature they are useful if only as a proof that the novels and plays of the century do not exaggerate: *Clarissa* is not more diffuse or more careful about 'female delicacy'; *Lydia Languish* is scarcely more romantic, or *Miss Neville* and her *Hastings* more sentimental and sententious.

'I am now looking in the glass, and really I pity myself. I am observing the force of passion; in what strong colors it

⁴⁴ *The Love Letters of Mary Hays*, ed. by A. F. Wedd. Methuen. pp. vi + 250. 12s. 6d. net.

lives in every feature; how visible the marks of love and disappointment sit there'.—It is Mr. Eccles who is writing, not his lady, but the pair are prettily matched. Mary lived on for sixty-three years after her Eccles died; she mourned him nearly ten years, but she kept her romantic heart, and at the age of thirty-five indulged in the throes of another unfortunate love-affair—this time unrequited. She chose Godwin as the recipient of her despair at her rejection, but he was neither sympathetic nor effusive, saying: 'You must not draw me into a correspondence which is wholly incompatible with my avocations and the disposition of my time'. She became the friend of Mary Wollstonecraft and brought her and Godwin together; later she knew Southey and Coleridge and the Lambs. She wrote various novels of no special distinction, she contributed to the *Critical Review* and composed a *Biographical Dictionary*. But by readers of Miss Wedd's admirable edition of the *Love-Letters* Mary Hays will be remembered by these rather than by her literary adventures.

Those who have delighted in the six volumes of Mrs. Delany's *Autobiography and Correspondence*, edited by Lady Llanover in 1861-2, may perhaps have cause to be discontented with Mr. Brimley Johnson's selections.⁴⁵ But they must confess, however grudgingly, that the work is well done, and that most of their favourite passages are included. For other people, the one volume must prove an excellent introduction to a woman so typically a great lady in the best sense of the term that to make her acquaintance is at once to realize her nobility. In Mr. Johnson's fine phrase, she was a 'genius in the art of living'—with a heart as warm as her judgement was sane and her mind well balanced. Happily she possessed also the ready pen of the eighteenth century, and she moved in circles which included some of the greatest people of the age. Born in 1700 and partly brought up by her uncle, the first Lord Lansdowne, who united her at seventeen to a disreputable Cornish squire of sixty, the story of her first marriage might come straight from the pages of Fielding or Richardson—notably her husband's

⁴⁵ *Mrs. Delany at Court and among the Wits*, ed. by R. Brimley Johnson. Stanley Paul. pp. xliv + 292. 16s. net.

ferocious jealousy and the episodes with Germanico and with Clario and Laura. Her 'not unwelcome' widowhood came after seven years, and she did not marry again until 1743, when she accepted the offer of Patrick Delany, Dean of Down, the friend of her intimate friend Swift. The 'character' her husband wrote of her in 1757 and sent as a Christmas present to her sister, Mrs. D'Ewes, sufficiently testifies to the happiness they shared, until his death in 1768. She herself lived another twenty years, until April 1788. Her life thus covers the ages of Pope and of Johnson, and lasts on until within a year of the Fall of the Bastille. Her father was sent to the Tower in 1715 for supposed complicity in the rebellion; at the end of her life she was intimate in the household of King George and Queen Charlotte, who pensioned her in 1785 and presented her with a house at Windsor. Between those dates she knew most of the politicians and statesmen of the day; she was a friend of Swift and of Burke, of Mrs. Chapone and the Bluestockings, and of Fanny Burney—to name only some of her literary circle; at her uncle's in her girlhood, as at the Duchess of Portland's in later life, she met on equal terms all the society of the town. She was never for an instant idle—she found 'full employment for her hands even between the *coolings of her cups of tea*'. She did exquisite needlework, she painted, made shell grottoes and cornices, and invented at the age of 72, and completed at the age of 85, the *Flora* of plants 'copyed from Nature in Paper Mosaick' which is now in the British Museum. Her skill is the skill of an artist, though it is turned to very minor branches of art—unless, indeed, we remember that 'genius in the art of living' which makes her one of the most delightful people of her time, and her diary and letters among the most attractive of the century—concerned though they be in the main with 'that which before us lies in daily life'. But that after all—we have it on Milton's authority—'is the true wisdom'.

In *Lady Suffolk and her Circle*⁴⁶ Mr. Melville has found a subject suited to his taste for the lighter, more gossipy side of biography. Lady Suffolk's position at Court brought her into intimate contact with all the celebrities of the day, while her

⁴⁶ *Lady Suffolk and her Circle*, by Lewis Melville. Hutchinson. 1924. pp. xx + 292. 21s. net.

intercourse with Horace Walpole in later life is full of interest of another kind. Mr. Melville has used his sources with judgment, and readers with whom his other books are popular will find in this an excellent example of his compilations—chit-chat about historical personages retailed by one who contrives to make facts as easy of consumption as if they were fiction.

There is no need to do more than welcome in their new dress those lectures on eighteenth-century topics which are included by Mr. Whibley in his collection of Ker's *Essays*.⁴⁷ Together, these papers give a fair impression of Ker's attitude towards the eighteenth century which he understood and appreciated long before it was fashionable to do so. Nowhere can one more easily estimate the width of his reading and the freshness and originality with which he used his knowledge. In his lecture on *The Eighteenth Century* he wrote much of the 'gusto', the '*hilaritas*' which are the life of great art. They are the key to Ker's own appreciation of what is good wherever he finds it—in deeds or in the words which recount them; in the 'fresh and new things' which are 'accomplished in discipline and obedience to school traditions' as well as in 'the glorious achievements of artists who . . . find out sundry ways as their own'. So it comes about that he can convince not only himself, but also his readers, that the eighteenth century, like, yet unlike, the Elizabethan age, is a great age of adventurers—of 'the *conquistadores* Percy, Warton, Tyrwhitt' as well as of the heroes of the year of victories. A 'century which begins with William and Marlborough, and ends with Nelson and Wellesley, and which has *Hearts of Oak* in the heart of it, and Chatham and Warren Hastings for its statesmen, is a time worth thinking about'. Ker thought to some purpose, so that one may apply to himself what he wrote of Thomas Warton, that he 'had a knowledge of the past life of England most ample, fresh, and variegated. He took an honourable share in that business of historical investigation which was itself the most important new fashion of thought.' And historical investigation led him, like his eighteenth-century adventurers, not away from, but ever nearer to 'the fortunate islands of romance'.

⁴⁷ See above, Chap. I, pp. 27-8.

In a monumental work,⁴⁸ worthy of the series to which it belongs, Professor Clark analyses the nature and extent of Boileau's influence on English literature, on both poetry and critical theory. In Book III (pp. 231–302) he turns aside from his main theme to discuss the fate of minor French classical critics—D'Aubignac, Corneille, Le Bossu, Bouhours, Rapin, and the rest—in this country. Though he expressly disclaims having made an exhaustive study of these minor critics, he has discussed their influence in some detail and the fact that he has disentangled the separate currents has made the main stream of Boileau's example and reputation much easier to follow. Yet we hope that, at some future date, he may be able to devote more attention to the influence of Rapin and Le Bossu which was of great importance in English critical thought. However, all he claims for the present work is that 'the study of these minor critics has been merely subsidiary to the study of Boileau's influence . . . to show in what *direction* their influence worked, and whether it coalesced with his or went counter to it or was simply irrelevant to it. . . . The work as a whole, then, takes on the character of a general survey of French classicism on the theoretical side in England, plus a study of Boileau's influence on certain creative departments of English literature.' It is not possible adequately to summarize the results of an investigation of this magnitude, but certain main conclusions seem to stand out from the rest. Of these the most important appears to be that it was due to the influence of *Le Lutrin* that the mock-heroic for the time being supplanted burlesque in English. 'In 1682, the spirit of *Le Lutrin* had been introduced once and for all into English literature in . . . *MacFlecknoe*, in which Dryden, taking his cue from Boileau, established in England the mock-heroic as that term was understood for more than a century afterwards', i.e. as the form of writing in which 'great and lofty terms' are used to describe common things. Burlesque, the native 'kind', is the converse of this, using 'low and mean expressions . . . to represent the greatest events'. Mr. Clark shows that this distinction, subsequently relaxed, is observed in the eighteenth century, and proves conclusively not

⁴⁸ *Boileau and the French Classical Critics in England (1660–1830)*, by A. F. B. Clark. Paris: Champion. pp. xviii + 534. 40 francs.

only that *MacFlecknoe* belongs to the new *genre*, but also that it is definitely indebted to *Le Lutrin*, in spite of the personal satire which 'has clothed itself with the subtle and ironic manners of the mock-epic'. Dryden is a greater poet than Boileau. If he is nevertheless indebted to the French poet for his conception, that no more detracts from his essential originality than the borrowing of the outline of a plot by an Elizabethan dramatist. It seems nevertheless to show that Dryden recognized in Boileau the achievement of a certain ideal of composition which he admired and desired to attain.

Further, Mr. Clark thinks that it was through Boileau's means that Dryden first made the acquaintance of Longinus, whom he came to call 'The greatest critic among the Greeks after Aristotle': it is curious, to put it at the lowest, that this statement is first made in 1677, i.e. three years later than Boileau's translation, which almost at once became current in England. Before the *Apology for Heroic Poetry* Dryden 'had never even named' Longinus.

Mr. Clark also proves another most interesting point. As early as 1664, in the *Epistle Dedicatory of the Rival Ladies*, Dryden made the oft-quoted assertion that 'the excellence and dignity of [rhyme] were never fully known till Mr. Waller taught it: he first made writing easily an art', &c. But in Soame's *Art of Poetry*—really the joint work of Soame and Dryden, in the year 1680—the importance of Waller is more strongly emphasized in the passage in the Fourth Canto where, as we know on Tonson's authority, Dryden substituted the names of English writers for the French originals. Boileau had written:

Enfin Malherbe vint, et, le premier en France,
Fit sentir dans les vers une juste cadence,
D'un mot mis en sa place enseigna le pouvoir
Et réduisit la muse aux règles du devoir, etc.

Dryden renders this passage:—

Waller came last, but was the first whose art
Just weight and measure did to verse impart,
'That of a well-placed word could teach the force
And showed for poetry a nobler course.

His happy genius did our tongue refine
And easy words with pleasing numbers join;
His verses to good method did apply
And changed hard discord to soft harmony.

This is 'stronger than anything that had ever yet been said in praise of Waller, and . . . had a good deal to do with establishing him in that exaggerated rank which he undoubtedly held. . . .'

Now English critics and writers at this period—and Dryden was pre-eminent as both poet and critic—were consciously seeking an ideal at which to aim in composition. Boileau's self-confident and exquisitely expressed *Art of Poetry* seemed to supply them with what they needed. If Mr. Clark's 'surmise is well founded that Dryden's lines are largely responsible for the final fixing of Waller's reputation, we have the rather striking phenomenon of the exigencies of translation offering the translator an opportunity to readjust the whole scale of values in his native literature in conformity with foreign criteria. The neo-classical cause in poetry took a tremendous leap forward when the classicism of Waller was presented as the whole consummation of the whole development of English poetry. And it all happened because Boileau wrote "Enfin Malherbe vint".

Boileau's influence on criticism and poetry was thus fully established before the eighteenth century began: in the course of that century it reached its height, primarily because it was at that period that men of letters were most consciously interested in literature as an art. As Shaftesbury puts it, the French 'studied to give the Muses their due body and proportion, as well as the natural adornments of correctness, chastity, and grace of style. From the plain model of the ancients, they have raised a noble satirist, Boileau.' 'Chastity and grace of style' are what Pope is seeking in his *Essay of Criticism*: they are the aim of every critic and writer, important and unimportant, of the classical age of English literature. Satire, from Pope downwards, is the 'kind' in which they most readily express themselves and their aims. And it is precisely in formal satire that Boileau's influence is most far-reaching.

Mr. Clark gives in detail chapter and verse for this summary statement of some of his more important conclusions, and it is not too much to say that serious students of literary history must follow his arguments step by step. He has fairly established most of his points, and with them the fact of the great influence exerted by Boileau on eighteenth-century theory and practice of literature in England. But he does not seem to have taken into consideration Professor Robertson's recent proofs⁴⁹ of the Italian contribution to critical theory in this country.

Professor Nicoll's latest instalment⁵⁰ of the history of English drama since the Restoration brings the story down to 1750 and renews our admiration for the industry and enthusiasm which have enabled him to assimilate so many plays, almost all of which are of quite secondary importance from the literary standpoint. It is probable that no other worker in the same field has possessed equal qualifications for the task Mr. Nicoll has undertaken, and there is no doubt of his knowledge of the dramatic history of the period. The appendices are in themselves sufficient proof that he has read everything obtainable that touches upon his subject: the *Hand-List of Plays* with its record of individual performances, the repertoires of French and Italian comedians, the index of dramatic works and authors, and of the documents relating to the stage, form a quarry into which all future workers at the subject will dig in order to obtain authoritative facts.

Further, Mr. Nicoll is able to advance theories which serve to explain the lack of dramatic achievement in the first half of the eighteenth century. The period, he says, is one of decay and disintegration. Critics lay down rules which audiences refuse to tolerate when the playwrights attempt to observe them. 'Pseudo-classical plays were extolled by the critics; . . . yet on the whole pseudo-classicism was not deeply welcomed by the audiences of the age.' 'Sentimentalism holds in relation to

⁴⁹ See *The Year's Work*, vol. iv, pp. 193-5, *Studies in the Genesis of Romantic Theory*.

⁵⁰ *A History of Early Eighteenth-Century Drama, 1700 to 1750*, by Allardyce Nicoll. C.U.P. pp. xii + 431. 18s. net.

comedy much the same position that classicism does to tragedy. . . . Almost every writer was infected more or less by its spirit, yet pure sentimentalism was not popular'.

'Pantomime, Italian opera, and ballad opera must all be taken as displaying in marked form the disintegrating elements in the eighteenth-century theatre. . . . The old had been killed, and the new was but barely born. . . . Sentimentalism had worn out comedy; the elements making for true tragic productivity were absent . . . the spectators were artificial and affected, seeking always after novelty.' And the audiences dictated while the playwrights, in default of a great dramatic genius, followed their wishes. Public taste, more than any other factor, led to the decay of classic tragedy and of the comedy of manners. Mr. Nicoll's chapters on *The Audience* and *The Theatre* establish his contention that the drama is 'more fully explained by a reference to the audience than to any other thing'. Conversely, the theatre 'is always a sure index of public taste and of almost intangible literary and intellectual movements', and 'only through a study of the stage of these years can we gain a true impression of the literary developments and ideals of the early eighteenth century'.

These, as far as we can discover, appear to be Mr. Nicoll's main conclusions, which he supports by detailed references to his authorities, amplifying them, with the necessary variations, in his several chapters on *Tragedy*, *Comedy*, and *Miscellaneous Forms of Drama*.

The thread of Professor Nicoll's argument would be easier to unravel were the bulk of his references relegated to appendices and the historical, literary, and critical theories and conclusions presented in a more attractive and less inchoate form. It is essential to have properly documented evidence which each student may, if he so desire, verify in detail for himself. We have already paid grateful tribute to Mr. Nicoll's industry and care in the provision of this material. But his work is not, nor is it intended to be, merely a source book. Yet page after page of the text is filled by titles, which, so presented, are a hindrance to the reader who wishes to peruse it consecutively; while other pages contain the briefest analyses, insufficient to leave any distinct impression on the memory, of plays which have sunk

into merited obscurity. While it will certainly serve as material for any future historian of the drama, and great as is, in some respects, Mr. Nicoll's achievement, this learned work cannot be regarded as an adequate literary presentation of the subject.

In *J. E. G. P.* (Jan.), Mr. Richard F. Jones writes on *Eclogue Types in English Poetry of the Eighteenth Century*, endeavouring to prove that the distinguishing characteristic of the type is dramatic form, whereas the term 'pastoral' refers only to content. Hence the widely diversified subjects of so-called 'eclogues', the significance of which name depends solely on structure. Thus he cites *Solima, an Arabian Eclogue, Eastern Eclogues, The Statesman, an Eclogue, Town Eclogues, Colemira, a Culinary Eclogue, &c.* He seems to establish his contention.

Dr. Pons's ⁵¹ tome of 412 pages is only a first instalment of his study of Swift and takes us no farther than *A Tale of a Tub*. It is to be completed in two more volumes, covering respectively the years 1704-14 and 1714-45. His work is thus an ambitious undertaking on a large scale which cannot be adequately judged until it can be viewed as a whole. One can see already that Dr. Pons spares himself no trouble in original investigation and that he makes good use of the labours of all his predecessors, not least of the data only recently available in the editions of Temple Scott and Elrington Ball, Guthkelch and Dr. Nichol Smith, and the critical studies of Mr. Freeman or Miss Goulding. For Dr. Pons is fortunate in having accessible the work that has been accomplished in the last decade towards the elucidation of Swift's mind and character—fortunate, but generously appreciative of those who have gone before him.

The first hundred pages of his study comprise a critical study of what he calls 'Histoire et critique Swiftiennes' which is really a descriptive account of the brief bibliography which precedes it. This classified review is useful, if only because it estimates more fairly than usual the work of some of Swift's earlier critics, for example, the *Memoirs of Mrs. Lætitia Pilkington*, which are often depreciated even by those who make most use of them. There are other instances of the same kind.

⁵¹ *Swift: Les Années de Jeunesse et le Conte du Tonneau.* Émile Pons. Université de Strasbourg and O.U.P. pp. xiv + 412. 8s. 6d. net. [25 francs.]

In the biographical part of the volume the story of the first thirty-seven years of Swift's life is told in a straightforward fashion, and, as is usual in the best French literary monographs, the background, e. g. of Moor Park, is admirably blended with the characters of the hero and of Temple.

Dr. Pons advances various theories in contravention of those usually held, e. g. about the relative ages of Stella and her sister, but there is not much scope for originality in dealing with the 'jeunesse' of Swift. The more important part of the volume is devoted to an exhaustive study of *The Battle of the Books* and *A Tale of a Tub*, which discusses at length the dates, sources, allegory, and satire of each. It is in this section of the book that Dr. Pons is best able to show us his critical acumen and powers of using his material. At times his treatment of the allegory and of what he calls the 'thème esthétomorphique' or the 'mythe éoliste' and the like smells a shade too much of the lamp. A little more humour, a trifle more lightness of touch, would add to the impressiveness of the work. Yet the impression made is indubitable—an impression of knowledge and of the power to use it with judgement.

The index is not as complete or as easy to consult as the contents of the book warrant.

Mr. Broadribb's pamphlet on *Pope: his Friendships and his Poetry*⁵² maintains the high standard reached by others in the series and is to be recommended as an adequate introduction to the study of the literature of the age of Queen Anne. It is pleasant to find Pope so judiciously treated not only as a poet, but as a man, and to read the blunt but well-supported statement that 'if the present writer's personal opinion may be expressed, the *Essay on Man* is Pope's masterpiece'. Others, besides the literary tyro, will find aids to appreciation in these pages.

In *Mod. Phil.* (May) Mr. Alan McKillop writes on *Richardson, Young, and the Conjectures*, calling attention to the letters of Young printed in the *Monthly Magazine* from 1813-19 and showing how they yield new evidence for the history of the

⁵² *Pope: his Friendships and his Poetry*, by C. W. Broadribb. National Home-Reading Union Pamphlets. Literature Series. No. 9. pp. 32. 1s.

Conjectures, and particularly 'help to explain the intrusion of the story of Addison's death'.

Attention may be called to the English version of Monsieur Digeon's criticism of Fielding's novels,⁵³ which was fully noticed in the 1923 volume of *The Year's Work*. The names of the translators are not given: their work is very well done.

Dr. Buck's *Study in Smollett*⁵⁴ provides the material for literary criticism, but is not itself concerned with aesthetic appreciation. It is an investigation of facts and dates and of the quarrels and disputes connected with certain chapters in Smollett's life, more particularly those which belong to the history of *Peregrine Pickle*. The study establishes certain points about Smollett's biography and clears up not a few difficulties. A single example will serve to illustrate Dr. Buck's method. He proves that the date of the second edition of *Peregrine Pickle* was 1758, not 1751, and shows the importance of his correction as a new fact in bibliography, modifying our view of both the original success of the novel, and of the causes underlying its revision. By 1758 it was imperative to remove the satire on Garrick as Marmozet since Garrick had brought out Smollett's farce of *The Reprisal* and helped him in other ways in the interval.

Dr. Buck deals at considerable length with the question of the authorship of the *Memoirs of a Lady of Quality* which are incorporated in both editions. They are greatly altered in the second edition, and the changes are more easily explained when the lapse of time is taken into account. Dr. Buck concludes that Lady Vane was the author of the *Memoirs* as they appeared in the first edition though they had probably been corrected by Dr. Shebbeare. Many of the alterations in the second edition he attributes to Smollett (pp. 47-8), though they were probably also retouched by Lady Vane. Dr. Buck establishes his contention that the question of authorship is one of real biographical importance.

⁵³ *The Novels of Fielding*, by Aurélien Digeon. Routledge. pp. xvi + 255. 10s. 6d.

⁵⁴ *A Study in Smollett, chiefly 'Peregrine Pickle', with a complete Collation of the First and Second Editions*, by Howard Swazey Buck. Yale University Press and O.U.P. pp. xii + 216. 14s. net.

A long chapter deals with the quarrels of Smollett, which, unsavoury as they may be, nevertheless repay elucidation, and finally there is a careful collation of the first and second editions of *Peregrine Pickle*. Dr. Buck's mill grinds exceeding small, but it yields genuine returns, the value of which he neither over- nor under-estimates.

Professor Cross's new edition of *The Life and Times of Laurence Sterne*,⁵⁵ in its sumptuous and beautifully illustrated volumes, is virtually a new work, which incorporates, but very considerably adds to, the earlier material. He has discovered for himself or utilized various new facts about Sterne's life and he has reconstructed from his information a portrait of the man which is probably a better likeness than any other which has been drawn of him. As one reads the story and arrives finally at Professor Cross's *Character of Sterne*, one finds cause to modify the opinion commonly held about him. Mr. Cross is no prejudiced advocate, but he has given himself the trouble to piece together and to try to understand the motives and actions of the odd, un-English humorist who was so volatile, so lacking in prudence, in decency and good sense, and yet so attractive and popular. 'Caution and Discretion, for example—the virtues of Samuel Richardson and his heroines—were to Sterne only the evil propensities of human nature, inasmuch as they are always intruding upon a man's conduct to prevent the free and spontaneous expression of his real selfhood.' Sterne was essentially himself, a man who possessed a keen zest for living, and who, 'when his course was finished . . . had exhausted all pleasurable sensations. . . . Although he well knew he was sacrificing his life to pleasure, he never halted or swerved from the path on which he had set out; for he felt that he was but fulfilling his destiny.' Sterne never pretended to be other than he was; he gave way to the emotions of the moment, acting, as he himself said, 'from the first impulse' or 'according as the fly stings'. It is impossible fairly to judge such a man from a single action or series of actions—his sentimental relations with women, for example.

⁵⁵ *The Life and Times of Laurence Sterne*, by Wilbur L. Cross. A New Edition. Yale University Press and O.U.P. Two vols. pp. xxii + 288 and 334. 31s. 6d. net.

What is good or what is bad in his career is equally the result of his emotionalism, his humour, and his total incapacity to act in accordance with the dictates of the reason and common sense which he despised. 'Sterne . . . was compounded of sensations only. In his life and in his books, he added extravagance to extravagance, running the course to the end, for there was no force to check and turn him backward. He was a humorist pure and simple.'

Professor Cross arrives at his conclusions step by step, without hurry or repetition. His study, for all its wealth of detail, and the research which has gone to its compilation, is readable in the best sense of the term—well proportioned, well composed, and well written. It contains all the documented references required by the student, a full bibliography and index for example; it is obviously the outcome of finished scholarship, but it is neither weighed down by the paraphernalia of learning nor the heaviness of pedantry. Finally, it should be noted that, in the last chapter, *Sterne's Letter Book*, are printed twenty-five autograph letters, many of them published for the first time.

It is to be hoped that a cheaper edition of this valuable book may soon be available for a larger public.

Dr. De Froe pursues his study⁵⁶ of Sterne from a different angle from that of Professor Cross. He is neither biographer pure and simple nor literary critic. It is his object to investigate Sterne and his novels 'in the light of modern psychology'. In the volume under discussion he deals chiefly with Sterne himself. Of the psychological value of the study the present writer is not competent to judge: the author expressly disclaims any intention of entering the field of literary criticism, and the fact that he has chosen a man of letters as the subject of his analysis does not bring his study within the province of *The Year's Work*. He appears not to have seen Professor Cross's latest *Life of Sterne*.

In *T. L. S.*, Sept. 17 and 24, Mr. R. Crompton Rhodes has articles on *The Early Editions of Sheridan* in which he deals

⁵⁶ *Laurence Sterne and his Novels, studied in the Light of Modern Psychology*, by A. De Froe. Groningen: P. Noordhoff. pp. 236. k. 5.50.

with piratical versions of *The Duenna* and *The School for Scandal*. He succeeds in establishing the relation between *The Governess* and the early piratical issues of *The Duenna* and also in discovering the text of *The School for Scandal* as revised and approved by Sheridan, but never published.

To *Essays and Studies* (vol. xi, p. 92) Miss Birkhead contributes an interesting paper on *Sentiment and Sensibility in the Eighteenth-Century Novel* in which she traces the development of meaning and use of those two terms in the eighteenth-century examples which she cites. Her study casts much light on contemporary manners as illustrated by the novelists, and is enlivened by the writer's quiet humour.

Professor Tinker has recently reprinted from *The Yale Review* a delightful account of the first American edition of *Rasselas*,⁵⁷ which was published in 1768 by a Scottish Philadelphian named Robert Bell—an eccentric bookseller with ideas of his own on literature. Thus he rechristened *The Prince of Abissinia*, as Johnson named it, and the new title *Rasselas* was at once adopted by the author in his letter of acknowledgement to the donor of his copy. This was the Rev. William White, a young Philadelphian who was graciously received by Johnson when he visited London and mentioned the American edition of the book. The present followed after White's return home, Johnson being manifestly pleased that the book was known in America as well as 'translated into Italian, French, German, and Dutch'. Johnson referred also to the title-page, reproduced in facsimile by Professor Tinker, with its curious imprint 'America: Printed for every Purchaser'. 'It flatters an author', says Johnson, 'because the printer seems to have expected it would be scattered among the people.' He makes no remark about the new motto on the same page which Bell borrowed from 'De La Roche Foucault'.

Dr. Tinker tells us that in his copy of the edition—unique as far as is known—there is also a frontispiece entitled 'A Perspective View of Grand Cairo', which bears no resemblance to Cairo, but

⁵⁷ *Rasselas in the New World*, by Chauncey Brewster Tinker. Yale University Press. (Limited edition, 25 copies only for sale.) pp. 31. Yale Review.

is probably inserted in order to emphasize the 'Oriental character' of the book and so attract readers to what Bell is pleased to call 'An Asiatic Tale'. The printer adds, at the end of the volume, a *Rambler* essay, No. 102, which he entitles *The Voyage of Life*.

Dr. Tinker has, by this pamphlet, greatly increased the debt owed to him by all Johnsonians. It is curious that he should be the first to describe or, apparently, to take any interest in the American edition, though the account of White's gift and Johnson's letter of thanks (March 4, 1773) are faithfully recorded by Boswell and known to all his readers.

In a learned and amusing paper, read before *The Johnson Club*, Dr. Gennadius, Minister Plenipotentiary for Greece, collects and sifts Johnson's references to Homer,⁵⁸ examining his knowledge of the original and his remarks on the subject of translation. Dr. Johnson's familiarity with both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is shown to be greater than he himself claimed, while, as was to be expected, his power of critical appraisal is vindicated as triumphantly as his scholarship.

Prior Bracey's *Eighteenth-Century Studies*⁵⁹ prove one thing at least—that the eighteenth century neither is, nor appears to him to be, what the Bishop of Clifton calls it in his foreword—'the dullest and drabbest of modern centuries'. The book is written, as we should expect, with a strong Catholic bias, but it is the work of a scholar who has learned to appreciate great gifts of mind and character wherever he may find them. Thus Prior Bracey is a true Johnsonian, and his paper on *Dr. Johnson as a Preacher* readily recognizes what he truly calls 'the awful reality of his (Johnson's) beliefs and the deep sense of his responsibility to a higher power'. And he goes on to say, 'His sermons reflected the man. In them, behind the reasoning and the ethics and the exhortations, is the Christian Faith.' This is as finely catholic as Johnson's own attitude to the older Church is shown to have been in the essay on *Dr. Johnson's Catholic Friends*. The last essay on Johnson deals with his first book,

⁵⁸ *Dr. Johnson and Homer*, A Paper by Joannes Gennadius, read before The Johnson Club. 1924. Printed for Private Circulation. pp. 38.

⁵⁹ *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, by Robert Bracey. Blackwell. pp. 142. 5s. net.

the 'epitome' rather than 'translation' of *Father Lobo's Travels in Abyssinia*. If Birkbeck Hill is to be trusted (i. 86), there is no evidence for Prior Bracey's statement on p. 21, that this book was ever in Pembroke College Library. There are other papers of interest in the volume—notably on *Corsica*, *Boswell*, *A Don Quixote of the Pulpit*, *George Psalmanazar* (though we do not agree that a reprint of his *Memoirs* is necessary: it can easily be obtained by any one who wants it), and *Alban Butler as a Traveller*.

In *Considered Writers Old and New*⁶⁰ Mr. Mason reprints certain articles from *The Bookman* and *To-Day*, and the first of these, occupying twenty-five pages, is entitled *Dr. Samuel Johnson and the Shakespearean Drama*. This paper is representative of good current journalistic criticism, though it does not contain anything new or profound. One might say of the author what he says of Johnson—that 'his was a conservative judgement, deliberately avoiding viewy and clever speculations': sometimes, indeed, his opinions seem to be old fashioned, and would be better for revision.

Mr. Coxon's book on *Chesterfield and his Critics*⁶¹ provides a useful account of Chesterfield as essayist, diplomatist, philosopher, and statesman. It adds a few unpublished letters and reprints *Eleven Selected Essays* after a chapter discussing the authenticity of the essays in general. In so far as Mr. Coxon corrects certain current misstatements of fact concerning Chesterfield's life and work, the book is to be commended. The new letters, are, however, of little interest and, despite Mr. Coxon's praise, it is impossible to regard Chesterfield as an essayist of importance. Nor does Mr. Coxon convince us that his estimate of Chesterfield's character and achievements is just. His advocacy is often absurdly biassed in favour of his hero (e.g. when he writes, on p. 107, 'Disregard the exteriors'—of Johnson and Chesterfield—'and it will be found that in most respects the

⁶⁰ *Considered Writers Old and New*, by Eugene Mason. Methuen. pp. viii + 231. 5s. net.

⁶¹ *Chesterfield and his Critics*, by Roger Coxon. Routledge. pp. xii + 328. 12s. 6d. net.

characters are remarkably alike'). He proves certainly what many people knew before, that Chesterfield has been as unfairly treated by posterity as he was harshly used by Johnson in the Doctor's best-known epistle. Chesterfield's *Letters*, too, while they are not moral treatises, nor intended by their writer to serve as such, do not deserve Johnson's epigrammatic criticism, which has been repeated again and again by those who have not read the letters for themselves. But, none the less, they could not have been written by a person of high principles and it is foolish to represent them as containing the kind of advice a virtuous man would have given to lads he loved, even when, admittedly, morals were not in question. Chesterfield was typical of one aspect of eighteenth-century rationalism and common sense. It is of no service to him or any one else to pretend that in certain respects he stood above the age in which he lived. It is sound criticism to regard him as a fine gentleman whose code of manners is the product of a society which based its standards upon reason and good breeding. It is worth while to recall his services to the state, e.g. as Viceroy of Ireland. But to claim for him moral qualities which he neither possessed nor desired to possess, or to say he was 'by nature a democrat', or that his style 'is art not so much revealed as transcended'—to select only a few surprising assertions—this is a mere travesty of criticism which tends to make one forget not only the merits achieved by Mr. Coxon's industry, but also the indubitable importance of his subject.

'Of the most renowned of English historians there is still no systematic biography,' says Mr. J. M. Robertson in the preface to his brief life-story of Gibbon,⁶² issued for the Rationalistic Press Association. His booklet makes use of the important new biographical material which became available in 1897 in Meredith Read's *Historic Studies of Vaud, Berne, and Savoy, from Roman Times to Voltaire, Rousseau, and Gibbon*, but was not utilized by Leslie Stephen in his article in the *D.N.B.* Mr. Robertson writes throughout with so strong a rationalistic bias that the reader is unreasonably in the mood to question the validity of even the conclusions which have nothing to do with Gibbon's

⁶² *Gibbon*, by J. M. Robertson. Watts. pp. vii + 22. 2s. net.

attitude towards Christianity. This is the inevitable consequence when a writer takes sides, but it should not be allowed to weigh too heavily in forming an opinion of the book. For most writers on Gibbon are disturbed by 'plaguy prejudices'—usually in the other direction—and Mr. Robertson has a very sound appreciation of Gibbon's 'original power and sanity' as shown in the history of the *Decline and Fall*, while he also realizes his defects in treatment and in style. The book forms an admirable introduction to the study of a very great writer, and is much more modern and, we think, on the whole much more just than Cotter Morison's 'English Men of Letters' *Gibbon*, now nearly fifty years old.

Strictly considered, perhaps Mr. Scott's admirably executed *Portrait of Zélide*⁶³ hardly belongs to *The Year's Work in English Studies*. But to any one who has read Boswell's *Letters*, Madame de Charrière is a living personality and one with whom he would fain be better acquainted. The means are now more easily available than in M. Godet's rare volumes. Mr. Scott's analysis of her character—ruthlessly truthful and at the same time tender, even affectionate—is a masterly psychological study, and one which is as enthralling as any novel. It is only when he speaks about Boswell and about Johnson, that is, precisely where he touches on English literature, that we find his insight temporarily at fault. There is no excuse for one so capable of comprehending Zélide and Benjamin Constant, if he chooses to discuss their betters without giving himself the pains to understand. So it is hard to forgive a reference to Johnson's 'flagrant unreason' or even the statement that he 'would not have loved' Zélide because she would have proved so formidable an adversary in his conversational attacks (p. 44). But apart from this single failure, Mr. Scott has been completely successful. He has produced not only a portrait which compels our belief in its verisimilitude, but a work of art which is a literary achievement.

The *Four Tales by Zélide*,⁶⁴ admirably translated by Mrs. Scott,

⁶³ *The Portrait of Zélide*, by Geoffrey Scott. Constable. pp. viii + 216. 12s. net.

⁶⁴ *Four Tales by Zélide: The Nobleman, Mistress Henley, Letters from*

form a genuine complement to *The Portrait of Zélide*; for they are drawn directly from Mme de Charrière's own experience and are a necessary source for those who desire to study her at first hand. Further, they will find in the four tales the very form and pressure of the time in which they were written.

The present writer published an essay on Fanny Burney⁶⁵ in which were included a couple of previously unprinted letters from Miss Burney to Mrs. Thrale, and also a letter and a scrap from Mrs. Thrale to her.

Mr. Gould's *Thomas Paine*⁶⁶ is a readable account of the life of the revolutionist, but contains no adequate account of his political thought. The presentment is coloured by the author's own attitude and the book is popular rather than scholarly in tone, yet it is of value inasmuch as it brings out Paine's sincerity and courage and his place in the evolution of modern democracy. It is true, and it is worth while to emphasize the fact, that Paine's 'fervent calls for a pacific democracy . . . powerfully contributed to the establishment of a universal conscience of humanity'.

Mr. Kingsley Martin's Fabian Tract on *Thomas Paine*⁶⁷ is nevertheless, in the writer's opinion, a more valuable contribution to the comprehension of Paine's point of view. Condensed as it is, the pamphlet makes a genuine attempt to explain Paine's doctrines and to contrast his conclusions about the French Revolution with those of Burke. There is no better introduction to the subject available. Nor does Mr. Martin forget to point out that Paine possessed 'the faculty for summarizing in an unforgettable phrase the thought for which other men were groping' and that he was one of the greatest of English pamphleteers.

Lausanne, Caliste, translated by Sybil Scott, with an Introduction by Geoffrey Scott. Constable. pp. xxx+263. 12s. net.

⁶⁵ *Fanny Burney*, by Edith J. Morley. The English Association, Pamphlet No. 60. O.U.P. pp. 20. 2s. net.

⁶⁶ *Thomas Paine*, by F. J. Gould. Parsons. pp. 192. 4s. 6d. net.

⁶⁷ *Thomas Paine*, by Kingsley Martin. Tract No. 217. Fabian Society. pp. 23. 3d.

Mr. Bruce has produced a short life of Blake⁶⁸ which combines established facts with the results of independent investigation and critical commentary. He has, for example, finally disposed of the widespread myth that Blake was confined in Bedlam at any time between 1809 and 1818 by the simple method of tabulating ascertained details of his life and whereabouts of that period. Many of these are not newly discovered, but Mr. Bruce uses both new and old in such a way that there is no further excuse for crediting the legend that has grown up about the so-called 'years of obscurity'.

Mr. Bruce has throughout his book blended biographical facts with criticism of the man and his works in such a way as to create a living personality. His style is too 'popular' to be altogether attractive, and English readers are likely to be disturbed by such forms as *dove* (= dived) or *Selincourt* (for *de Sélincourt*), but these defects cannot blind us to the fact that he has written a sound introduction to a study of Blake. It is a pity that he has not thought fit to alter the points to which attention was called in the last volume of *The Year's Work* (pp. 231-2) in a reference to his article in *P. M. L. A.*

Mr. Short's account of Blake⁶⁹ as an artist is something more than the title promises, for it contains also an adequate biography and an extremely lucid chapter on *The Seer: Style and Subject Matter*. This is an interpretation of Blake's philosophy which expounds, as simply as the subject permits, the leading ideas to be found in his work: it forms an admirable introduction to the very difficult subject with which it deals. The other chapters in the book are concerned with Blake as craftsman and as artist. Mr. Short succeeds in his attempt to 'bring the spirit into . . . relation with the letter of the art' (to borrow the phrase used by Mr. Kaines Smith in his foreword), and the book is therefore a genuine contribution to the understanding of its subject.

In his introduction to the little volume⁷⁰ of posthumous

⁶⁸ *William Blake in this World*, by Harold Bruce. Cape. pp. 218. 12s. 6d. net.

⁶⁹ *Blake*, by Ernest H. Short. Allan. pp. viii + 166. 5s. net.

⁷⁰ *William Blake, Studies of his Life and Personality*, by Herbert Jenkins, ed. by C. E. Lawrence. Jenkins. pp. 110. 3s. 6d. net.

essays on Blake which he edits, Mr. C. E. Lawrence justly estimates the qualifications possessed by Herbert Jenkins as biographer and critic of the poet. Jenkins collected facts about Blake which were not known in 1911-12 when he was writing. Thus his accounts of Blake's trial for high treason in 1803, and of the position of Blake's grave in Bunhill Fields are the results of independent and painstaking research. But his attitude of mind precludes adequate criticism: Blake is not to be finally appraised by one who is content to judge him only 'by such of his work as we are able to understand' and to explain the visions as the result of 'over-sexuality'. But 'within their limits Jenkins' investigations were helpful'.

Mr. Colby's beautifully produced and illustrated edition ⁷¹ of Holcroft's *Life* is a model of scholarly completeness. It has been the labour of many years and the result justifies the work put into it. Not only does it reproduce the extremely interesting autobiographical chapters, and Hazlitt's continuation, but it contains corrections and amplifications, especially for the period 1781-94 which covers Holcroft's political activities, substantially changing the relative values of the incidents recorded by Hazlitt. Mr. Colby rightly sees that the importance of Holcroft is to be estimated not primarily by his mediocre plays and novels, but by the part he played in public affairs. He has sought his material not merely in Holcroft's own *Narrative of Facts*, but 'in the pages of history . . . in the unpublished official records of the investigators for the Privy Council, in the newspapers and personal letters and memoirs of the time'. His notes on the 'Corresponding Society' and on the part played by its members fill a gap in the history of the reform movement, for the significance of the trial of the Twelve Reformers cannot be grasped unless something is known of the innocent discussions which inspired so much fear in the breasts of the Government. Again, Holcroft's own character is revealed by the new extracts from his letter to Windham, by the account of his intercourse with and influence on Godwin, and by his whole attitude towards

⁷¹ *The Life of Thomas Holcroft written by himself*, continued from his Diary and other papers by William Hazlitt, and newly edited by Elbridge Colby. Constable. Two vols. pp. lxiv + 320 and x + 346. 42s. net.

political movements during those troubled years. What Mr. Colby calls his 'frantic philosophizing among the radicals' is something which has seriously to be reckoned with in forming any just estimate of Holcroft's character and historical position.

Hazlitt's picture of Holcroft's last years is also shown to be 'incomplete and unsatisfactory'—probably because he was too near in time to tell the story in detail. Mr. Colby is able to give an account of the sorrows and disappointments and literary activities of the final period without the risk of giving pain to survivors to which the earlier writer was exposed.

The present edition, the first separate reissue of Holcroft's *Life*, thus differs in many important matters from its forerunners and is justly described by the publishers as 'by far the most complete and logical text' ever issued. The editor laments that the *Memoirs* are still incomplete and that, in spite of his efforts, he has been unable to discover the fourth volume. But the book as it stands is, with this exception, in all respects a definitive and final edition of the life of one who touched the society, history, and literature of England at many points and who was himself one of the most interesting minor figures of his day.

The life of Mary Wollstonecraft⁷² is rightly included in *The Roadmaker Series* for she was a genuine pioneer, preparing the way for human progress. The account given by Miss Linford makes interesting reading, but suffers from the author's strong feminist bias. She would have been wiser to let the facts speak for themselves: her descriptions of 'the weak, sex-ridden creatures of a hundred and fifty years ago', or of 'the state of spiritual darkness in the days when' she 'passed her short life', or of 'the comfortable torpor of the Victorian era' or the summary account of the social and intellectual enfranchisement of women, add nothing of value to the biographical interest and may serve to lessen the reader's confidence in the author's critical judgement. Mary Wollstonecraft has so frequently met with less than just appreciation whether of her character or capacity that it is the more necessary to use restraint in recounting the story of her life.

⁷² *Mary Wollstonecraft*, by Madeline Linford. Leonard Parsons. 1924. pp. 192. 4s. 6d. net.

In *The London Mercury* for December (pp. 163-74) Mr. Edward Davison writes a fresh and sensible paper entitled *Robert Burns: A Reconsideration*. It contains a good deal of criticism that merits consideration in any attempt to estimate the position of the poet.

Mr. Stewart's booklet about Burns⁷³—a new edition of that first published in 1910—is written entirely from the class-conscious point of view. The key-note is that of one of the chapter-headings,—the quotation 'A Man's a Man'. Burns is treated as the promulgator 'of the idea of natural human rights', and 'his power as a social force' is the chief aspect of his work with which the writer deals.

In a convincing little book,⁷⁴ Sir James Crichton-Browne examines and finally disposes of the myth, started by Currie in his life of the poet, that Burns succumbed to 'dissipation' and drunkenness. Sir James shows, after careful examination of the facts, that there is no truth in the legend. He proves on medical grounds 'that Burns died of rheumatic endocarditis, with the origin of which alcohol had nothing to do', and that the disease progressed more rapidly than need have been the case because of faulty diagnosis and treatment. It is perhaps too much to hope that future critics will confine themselves to the poems of Burns and leave libels on his character alone: there is no longer a shadow of excuse for repeating them.

Professor Laski's *Political Thought*⁷⁵ is a reprint of the book which first appeared in 1920, but it is pleasant to have the opportunity of calling attention to its existence, for it fills a niche not fully occupied by any other single volume. This brief account of one aspect of English thought in the eighteenth century is the best introduction to the subject which students of literature can obtain. Though they make no claim to be complete, the bibliographies added to the various chapters are of great service.

⁷³ *Robert Burns and the Common People*, by William Stewart. I.L.P. Publication Dept. pp. 107. 2s. 6d. net.

⁷⁴ *Burns from a New Point of View*, by Sir James Crichton-Browne. Hodder & Stoughton. pp. viii + 92. 3s. 6d. net.

⁷⁵ *Political Thought in England from Locke to Bentham*, by Harold J. Laski, Williams & Norgate. Home University Library. pp. 253. 2s. 6d. net.

Dr. Manwaring's *Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England, A Study chiefly of the Influence of Claude Lorrain and Salvator Rosa on English Taste, 1700-1800*,⁷⁶ is another contribution to our knowledge of 'romantic' enthusiasm in the eighteenth century, with its love for nodding groves, Gothic ruins, and 'horrid' scenes. The 'picturesque' with all its implications, was a real factor in the growth of interest in rural landscape and even in the wilder beauties of mountain scenery. Dr. Manwaring has no difficulty in showing that the influence of Claude Lorrain and of Salvator Rosa, by their paintings and also by the engravings made from these, was of paramount importance in moulding English taste. 'The part played by painting in developing the love of landscape in England' was a subject that deserved the detailed treatment it has here obtained. Dr. Manwaring's careful study is of real importance to an understanding of that 'cult of the picturesque'—in nature, in gardens, and in poetry—which is an integral part of the background of eighteenth-century literature.

Lady Pomfret's letters might have supplied Dr. Manwaring with some further illustrations, e.g. about the influence of Claude Lorrain or about English travellers in Rome, but curiously enough, they do not appear to have been consulted.

Miss Mona Wilson,⁷⁷ in her Preface, disarms criticism by her first sentence, which begins, 'This book is not intended for the student, but for the curious general reader'. She deals pleasantly with such literary ladies as Susannah Centlivre, Charlotte Lennox, and Mrs. Chapone, and, while her essays are not distinguished by great critical acumen, they show, at least, interest in and knowledge of their subjects. The book can be recommended to those who enjoy biographical chit-chat about literary ladies 'of importance in their day'—and some of them deserve more respectful remembrance than is implied by such a phrase.

The Oxford University Press does good service by the inclusion

⁷⁶ *Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England*, by Elizabeth Wheeler Manwaring. The Wellesley Semi-Centennial Series. O.U.P. pp. xiv + 244. 14s. net.

⁷⁷ *These were Muses*, by Mona Wilson. Sidgwick & Jackson. 1924. pp. xii + 236. 7s. 6d. net.

of two more volumes of Austin Dobson's papers in the World's Classics,⁷⁸ and by the addition in each case of an index and illustrations. Dobson's essays are perennially attractive, for he knew how to combine exact scholarship and knowledge of little-trodden by-ways with the lightness of touch which is beyond the attainment of most students. Perhaps it is because the eighteenth century was the recreation of his leisure hours that it becomes in his pages so delightful a resting-place.

In *R. E. S.* (Oct.) Mr. Oswald Doughty gives an attractive account of Mary Chandler, *A Bath Poetess of the Eighteenth Century*.

M. L. R. (April) opens with an excellent description (pp. 125-46) of *Elizabeth Elstob, the Learned Saxonist* by Miss Margaret Ashdown, who does well to reintroduce to notice the pioneer woman philologist and the first compiler of an Anglo-Saxon Grammar in English. Elizabeth Elstob is one of the most interesting of the learned ladies of the eighteenth century. She did much solid work, and she suffered for her unfeminine accomplishments.

The London Mercury (Jan.) contains an article by Mr. S. C. Roberts entitled *An Eighteenth Century Gentleman*, which is a brief record of the life and work of the first Lord Lyttelton author of the *Persian Letters* and of *Dialogues of the Dead*.

⁷⁸ *A Paladin of Philanthropy and other Papers*, by Austin Dobson. O.U.P. pp. 362. *At Prior Park and other Papers*. Ditto. pp. 362. Each 2s. net.

XI

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

I. 1800-1860

[By C. H. HERFORD]

THOUGH the year has produced two large-scale biographical studies of major poets of this period, as well as the first adequate Life of Cary the translator of Dante, the 'Year's Work' upon these poets has mainly been devoted to single points of varying interest and importance.

In a useful essay, *Wordsworth since 1916* (*Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, Jan. 1924), Mr. R. A. Rice gives a critical survey of the new epoch in WORDSWORTH criticism brought about by two decisive events, the discoveries of Professor Harper, and the War. The first complicated the interpretation both of the poetry and of the man by introducing the dilemma between moral and literary valuations so familiar elsewhere in poetic biography, but so irrelevant, apparently, to that of Wordsworth. The second recalled attention to the power and grandeur of his war poetry and of the great Cintra tractate. Mr. Rice concerns himself less with the Annette incident itself than with the character of Wordsworth's subsequent 'reaction from impulse and romance towards philosophy'. The poet 'played safe'; and his critic would connect his unromantic prudence in the matter with the steady subsidence of the temper of adventure, in his poetry as in his politics, from 1793 onwards. In a subsequent section ('the relation of Wordsworth's Romantic and Political experiences to his career as a Poet') Rice justly qualifies Professor Harper's too rigid nexus between the poet's politics and his poetry. Later sections discuss the notable volume of Professor Beatty, whose thesis he substantially accepts (with perhaps insufficient recognition of the extent of the transformation which Hartley's associationism underwent in Wordsworth's mind); and the clever anti-Words-

worth essay of Señor Maderinga; both noticed in previous issues of *The Year's Work*.

In *Wordsworth and German Literature* (P. M. L. A. xl. 2) Mr. Max J. Herzberg surveys and sums up the produce of much critical and uncritical research in this confessedly meagre field. Wordsworth, among all our greater poets, best illustrates the quality of mind which resists foreign literary influence; and in his case resistance was, for poetry, all to the good. Yet for us, after the event, it is easy to surmise that Goethe, in 1798, could have offered Wordsworth something that, had he been more open to it, would have proved deeply congenial to him. German literature did not lack advocates in Wordsworth's circle. Not to speak of Coleridge, there was Crabb Robinson, a highly qualified exponent, in and out of season. One of the few piquant incidents in the record is Tieck's comment upon some of Wordsworth's sonnets shown him by Robinson: 'This is an English Goethe.' The inquiry is thus by no means idle: it involves a real problem, and Herzberg's somewhat elaborate handling is justified, despite its almost negative result. For it is much to establish a negative, and still more if it be also made clear that no other result was at bottom to be expected. After telling in detail the story of the Goslar residence, with study of Bürger as its one important fruit, Herzberg sketches the English knowledge of German literature up to Wordsworth's time, estimates the German culture of Wordsworth's circle, and summarizes the allusions to Germany in his writings. Such among these as are sympathetic are called forth, not by German literature, but by the tragic fortunes of 'the sons of mighty Germany' (*Exc.* viii) in the struggle with Napoleon. 'In the entire volume of his prose works not one German writer is actually mentioned, though one [Gessner, author of *The Death of Abel*] is alluded to' (*Prel.* vii. 564 f.). The memoirs of the day, carefully consulted by Herzberg, reflect chiefly Wordsworth's uniformly hostile attitude to Goethe. Even Bürger, the one German poet who in any degree interested him, he thought inferior to Percy. In his closing section Herzberg dismisses the case, warmly urged by Brandl and others, for regarding Gessner's idyll as a source of *Guilt and Sorrow*. He thinks it probable that Schiller's *Robbers* had some slight influence on the

Borderers, and admits of course Wordsworth's acknowledged but unimportant borrowings from Frederica Brun and Bürger. The extremely abstruse question of an influence of Kant or Fichte derived by reflection, or refraction, through Coleridge, he leaves undecided, but leans strongly, we think with justice, to the negative side. The Kantian, no less than the Goethean, Wordsworth was inborn.

In *R. E. S.* (April) Professor de Sélincourt anticipates the critical edition of the MSS. of *The Prelude*, which is one of the principal literary events of the current year, by a few examples of the corrections of the Vulgate text which access to the originals has enabled him to make. Detailed comment on the discovery—for such it virtually is—is reserved for next year's 'English Work'. It will suffice here to indicate one or two of the passages in which the masque of plausible blundering overlaying the authentic text is shown to be what it is. Some acute critics, in particular Professor Garrod and Mr. Nowell Smith, who had in some of these cases suspected the truth, will find their insight confirmed. In other cases, the current text excites no suspicion but is found nevertheless to have extruded a reading which we instantly recognize as peculiarly Wordsworthian. Thus in II. 148, no one could quarrel with

'a hut

Proud of its own bright fire and sycamore shade'.

But this 'dwelling more worthy of a poet's love' is, in the original,

'Proud of its *one* bright fire',

as a Wordsworthian hut was likely to be. He was neither hermit nor socialist, but solitude meant more to him than property.

A remarkably illuminating change (already proposed by Professor Garrod) is at XI. 331:

'Whether in matters various, properties
Inherent',

for 'Whether in matter's various properties
Inherent'.

In *Expostulation and Reply* (*P. M. L. A.* xl. 2) Mr. J. W. Beach combats, with not unmerited irony, an attack upon Wordsworth's moral teaching in these poems, which appeared in the same Review for Dec. 1922. The writer of that article, Professor Cerf, is a disciple of Professor Irving Babbitt, and had found in the poet's joyous summons to his friend to dismiss 'our meddling intellect' and observe with open senses 'the beauteous forms of things', an expression of that Rousseauist 'Romanticism' from which Professor Babbitt finds so little of nineteenth-century poetry to be exempt. Beach shows that Professor Cerf mistakes a half-playful diatribe against the abuses of merely bookish outlook on nature for a vindication of the senses against mind; and proves, from countless passages in the *Prelude* and elsewhere, that Wordsworth's 'Imagination' is, for him, only 'Reason in her most exalted form', quickened by the 'senses', but transcending them, so that at certain ecstatic moments 'the bodily sense goes out'.

In *Wordsworth's Unacknowledged Debt to Ossian* (*P. M. L. A.* xl. 2) Mr. J. R. Moore makes an important addition to the recognized sources of Wordsworth's Nature poetry. His consistently scornful dismissal of the claims of Macpherson, and the vivacious outburst in the *Essay Supplementary to the Preface*, 1815, have discouraged any quest for Ossianic echoes in his pages. We have, no doubt, to distinguish. 'Ossian', when Wordsworth grew up, was in the air; every other poet among the Romantics shows signs of his influence; and Moore perhaps attaches too much importance to his declaration that 'from my very childhood I have felt the falsehood that pervades . . . Ossian'; which need not imply more than the hearsay impression which no one could then avoid. But it is otherwise when we find Wordsworth writing poems on Ossianic sites or subjects, such as Glen Almain, and the four sonnets to Fingal's Cave. He is always quick to distinguish the authentic Ossian for his 'counterfeit Remains'. But for Wordsworth, who knew no Gaelic, Macpherson *was* Ossian; and it is clear that he saw at moments with Ossian's eyes and fell at moments upon phrases which had come to him from that vaguely impressive poetic world. We are probably never to suppose conscious borrowing, but Moore's parallels leave little doubt that un-

conscious literary reminiscences sometimes concurred with memories of his own observation. He finds such similarities especially 'in the language of sun and moon and stars, clouds, mountains, rocks, mossy stones, winds, trees, and streams'. To take only one instance, Ossian's repeated comparison of the surface of the sea or of a lake to the breast—'the bosom of whitening waves'—may be reflected in the famous 'sea that bares her bosom to the moon' of the Calais sonnet. But we think Moore quite unjustified in directly ascribing to Ossianic influence (if we understand him rightly) all the 'natural magic' element in his nature feeling. 'Ossian' could not have induced what was not an intrinsic part of his genius already.

In the unpretending form of a small selection from his writings, with an Introduction and Notes, the Oxford Professor of Poetry has made an extremely valuable addition to COLERIDGE literature.¹ His Introduction contains neither new fact nor decisive corrections of accepted judgements, like his illuminating book on Wordsworth. But it would be hard to find, in English critical writing, ten pages more closely packed with fresh and delicate observation, ingenious combination, ripe judgement, and epigrammatic wit. Mr. Garrod is no friend of blurred outlines, and he may be thought to demarcate phases and periods at times more peremptorily than consorts with the growth of poetic minds. Yet he has an equally clear eye for facts which disturb the neatness of recognized categories. Thus, after distinguishing in a few telling sentences the 'pre-Wordsworthian Coleridge' from the Coleridge who 'wrote nearly all of what is supreme in [his] poetry when he was with, or near, Wordsworth', he points out that 'the casual student will note with surprise the degree to which portions of [*Religious Musings*], perhaps the best portions, anticipate that manner which we recognize as distinctly Wordsworthian'. And the subtle interrelation of the two original poets after they met is delicately seized. 'Already [in *Reflections on having left a Place of Retirement*] Coleridge is doing with credit what later, but only later, only when Coleridge had taught him, Words-

¹ *Coleridge: Poetry and Prose*, with an Introduction and Notes by H. W. Garrod. O.U.P. pp. xix + 184. 3s. 6d. net.

worth did with genius.' The 'selection' includes all Coleridge's finest work in verse, and examples of his prose. It is preceded by the well-known accounts of him by Hazlitt, De Quincey, Carlyle. The noble Christ's Hospital portrait is prefixed.

In his 'critical study' of Coleridge² Sig. Ferrando has done something more than provide the Italian public with a good introduction to a foreign poet; something more, too, than illustrate an Italian's way of approaching alien genius. His book has the value of an independent attempt, by a keen and highly cultivated interpreter, to deal with the problems, still unexhausted, perhaps inexhaustible, which the mind of Coleridge presents. Ferrando recognizes, as every one must, the glaring disparity between his life and his genius; but instead of simply exploiting this antithesis, like some recent English critics, or concentrating his attention upon the poet in his confessed repugnance, on a first impression, for the man, he has sought to lay bare the psychological ground by which both are to be explained, and in the light of which both must be judged. 'Of all the romantic poets Coleridge is the least attractive at first sight; but if we can overcome this initial repulsion and approach his "anima" directly, his whole life will appear in a new light, and we shall be in a position to appreciate the man as well as the artist and the philosopher, and to recognize that he is the typical representative of the age he lived in, reflecting its characteristic principles,—on the one side aspirations towards a free and perfect life, on the other, incapacity to realize so noble an ideal.' This may be put in too abstract terms, but it rightly seizes the nexus between the practical impotence of Coleridge and the ethereal soar and sweep of his mind. In four sections Ferrando studies, successively, 'the man', 'the poet', 'the critic', and 'the religious philosopher'. These are all worked out with scholarly care and with a lucidity of style by no means in vogue among the younger critics of Italy. At times his lucidity may seem to be gained by an undue simplification of intricate facts. The relation of the English poets to the French Revolution requires a volume (such as M. Cestre devoted

² *Coleridge: Studio Critico*, di Guido Ferrando. Firenze: Le Monnier, pp. 197. [Sig. Ferrando dealt with Coleridge in an early work: *La Critica letteraria di C.* (1909).]

to it) not a sentence or two; and Wordsworth's passion for 'freedom' was notoriously not thence derived. With Coleridge, however, this influence was real and potent, though brief; and the phases of his later intellectual evolution towards the position which made him the fountain-head of English Liberal Christianity are in outline clearly traced. Ferrando does not, like some of Coleridge's recent exponents, allow his readers to forget how deeply the quondam opium slave on Highgate Hill impressed not only the kindred mind of F. D. Maurice, but the radically alien mind of John Stuart Mill.

A more direct aim at vindication has inspired a little volume, *Coleridge at Highgate*,³ by the granddaughter of Coleridge's Highgate host, Gillman. Mrs. Gillman lived till 1858, and bequeathed to Mrs. Watson all the Coleridge letters and MSS. in her possession. The book, freely quoting from published sources, contains a few unpublished letters of interest from and to the poet, and gives unfamiliar details of his eighteen years' residence in the Gillman household. The book is steeped in the atmosphere of affectionate reverence which invested for the Gillmans the memory of their guest, and which the writer in her far-off girlhood eagerly absorbed.

In a scholarly and subtle article, *Coleridge and the Idea of Evolution* (*P. M. L. A.* xl. 2), Mr. G. R. Potter attempts to define the exact degree of the poet's approximation to the evolutionary position, which he contends, against some recent American exponents (Gingerich, Wylie), that Coleridge never actually reached. That Coleridge's mind was saturated with conceptions which tended towards evolution is beyond doubt, and the tendency became more distinct in his later years. He learnt from Erasmus Darwin; he read eagerly (like Goethe at the same time) Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire. 'Nature', he is reported to have said in 1827, 'is essentially imperfect, and all her tendencies are (so to speak) to supersede herself.' So in *Aids to Reflection*: 'All things strive to ascend, and exceed in their striving. And shall man alone stoop?' But notwithstanding the ingrained evolutionary bias of his thinking, it seems clear that he never gave up the radically inconsistent theological dogma of 'The Fall'. He was not therefore, in any strict sense, an evolutionist.

³ *Coleridge at Highgate*, by Lucy E. Watson. Longmans. pp. 196. 10s. 6d.

Hartley COLERIDGE modestly expected to be remembered only in virtue of the name he bore. A somewhat higher claim is justly made for him by Mr. Drinkwater in a new volume of the 'Little Nineteenth-Century Classics'.⁴ The editor has chosen, however, to represent him, not by any of his verse, but by two of his prose essays—those on 'Parties in Poetry', and 'the Character of Hamlet'; feeling, rightly, that Coleridge's son is here both more distinctive and more remarkable. 'If his gait were less uncertain, he would be among the most accomplished of critical essayists. . . . In his essays on poets and poetry Hartley rarely travels more than a few sentences without saying something that can bear comparison with the best things of critics more uniformly excellent than he.'

SOUTHEY'S *Life of Wesley*⁵ ranks only second to his *Life of Nelson*, and has long been recognized as a masterly account of the 'rise and progress of Methodism'. Mr. Fitzgerald, already known by his edition of the letters as a student of Southey, once more in these volumes shows himself a capable editor, appreciative, understanding, and qualified to speak as one having authority. His criticism of both Southey and Wesley is shrewd and discriminating. He adds to the text the MS. notes written by Coleridge in his copy of the *Life*, together with some supplementary notes by Southey; for a biographical table, dates, and additional 'Notes and Illustrations' he is himself responsible. The edition is the most satisfactory that has been issued.

Mr. Childers has done good service by his careful edition of Southey's *Uneducated Poets*,⁶ with its excellent bibliographies and notes. Southey's work varies in value, as indeed do the achievements of his 'uneducated poets'. John Jones, who was the prime mover of the undertaking, was of no merit as a poet, nor does Southey's account of him inspire much interest. But

⁴ *Essays . . . by Hartley Coleridge*, with an Introduction by John Drinkwater. Oxford: Blackwell. pp. 60. 2s. 6d.

⁵ *The Life of Wesley and the Rise and Progress of Methodism*, by Robert Southey, ed. by Maurice Fitzgerald. O.U.P. 2 vols. pp. xlviii+430 and xii+428. 3s. 6d. net each vol.

⁶ *The Lives and Works of the Uneducated Poets*, by Robert Southey, ed. by J. S. Childers. O.U.P. pp. xvi+214. 3s. 6d. net.

when he deals with the Water-Poet, or Ann Yearsley or Stephen Duck his essays are of another order altogether. The volume merited the reprint, and should attract many readers.

In 'PEACOCK, SCOTT, and Robin Hood' (*Essays by Divers Hands*, R. S. L., vol. iv) Sir H. Newbolt discusses the resemblances in the treatment of the Robin Hood story between Peacock's *Maid Marian* and *Ivanhoe*, both composed in the same year, 1818, but published respectively in 1822 and 1819. It is shown that some extraordinarily close parallels are to be found elsewhere than in the 'three last chapters' in which Peacock admitted adaptations from *Ivanhoe*. But the critic refuses to solve the difficulty by any explanation discreditable either to Peacock's accuracy or to his good faith, and supports a tentative suggestion that 'a great imaginative writer may . . . be affected by the mind of another writer engaged at the same time upon the same subject' by two remarkable instances within his own experience of such correspondence where communication was entirely precluded.

Dr. W. Macintosh's little volume on Scott and Goethe⁷ gives an unpretending and, we fear we must say, far from critical account of the influence of Goethe on the writings of Scott. The second title 'German influence' describes the purport of the volume more exactly. Scott never passed beyond the outer precincts of Goethe's genius, and certainly had no inkling of the philosophic bearing of his thought. But there were certain points at which their poetic domains touched or overlapped. How slight the real overlapping was may be judged from Scott's unconscious travesty of *Erlkönig*, which he took to be something in the vein of Monk Lewis. In *Götz von Berlichingen*, in spite of some incredible 'howlers' (such as 'the convent is involved in business' for 'mein Kloster ist Erfurt in Sachsen'), he was more successful; for here Goethe was more like Scott than anywhere else, and less like himself. And memories of *Götz* came later into some of the novels,—as the siege into *Ivanhoe*. Egmont and Clärchen are recalled in Leicester and Amy Robsart, and Mignon, more faintly, in Fenella of *Peveril of the Peak*. But here, as in

⁷ *Scott and Goethe; German Influence on the Writings of Sir W. Scott*, by W. Macintosh. Galashiels: Walker. pp. xviii + 214.

Erlkönig, Scott was out of his depth, and Goethe, who recognized both 'loans' and approved the first, resented the second. In addition to these and some other borrowings in the novels, Dr. Macintosh has adduced the various signs of 'German influence' at large—'Aldobrund' Oldenbuck, the German adventures of Dugald Dalgetty, and so forth. The Appendices give unfamiliar details of Raspe the apparent original of Dousterswivel, and Bunsen's account of Scott's last visit to Italy. The writer has put the facts together in a useful way, but not given us the critical book which his title appears to promise. His own pretensions to criticism may be judged from two remarks: 'The sweep of [Scott's] imagination and the range of his sympathies . . . were far beyond anything that Goethe could attain to'; '*Ivanhoe* is probably the very finest of [Scott's Romances]'.

The reader who recalls the remarkable chapter on BYRON in Professor Elton's first *Survey* will turn with lively expectation to his 'Byron Lecture' for 1924, *The Present Value of Byron*, published in the opening number of *R.E.S.* (Jan. 1925). Postulating the permanent interest of Byron's personality, whatever our judgement of his writings, or of his 'morals', Elton proceeds to scrutinize his literary claims by asking a series of very apposite and pointed questions. The questions are not the less apposite because they resemble those put by skilful counsel for the defence, in friendly cross-examination, to his own client in court; they provide him with an opportunity of clearing up a doubt or making an unexpected point in his favour. Thus he asks: 'Can Byron tell a story?' An affirmative answer is consistent with a wholesale dismissal, in which Byron would doubtless have concurred, of almost all the stories that he actually told, as stories, before *Mazeppa* and *Don Juan* and *The Vision of Judgment*. In these latter he found one of the conditions in which he rises to his full power as a narrator; when 'the tale itself provides the irony, and he feels that he need not comment much; when he can go slowly and delightedly from pageant to pageant, interspersing dialogue in verse, . . . and showing, what in his dramas he does not show, his dramatic power'. 'In this sense Byron takes his rank among the four or five best English storytellers in rhyme.' The second question: 'Could Byron sing?'

may seem designed to provoke the shade of Swinburne; but again the affirmative answer is won by sifting a few very choice things from the mass of poor and even 'very bad' quasi-lyrics by which he is commonly judged. As Elton points out, Byron 'has suffered as a singer' by comparison with the generically different, as well as finer, song of Shelley; and he parries the charge by suggesting the unexpected but felicitous parallel of Rochester. 'He does one of the hardest of things: at his best, he reasons in song, and that without ceasing to sing.' On the fourth question, somewhat similarly, the poet's 'command of beauty in language', Elton saves Byron by throwing over his Byronism; calling as evidence, not the rhetorical magnificence of the later *Childe Harold*, but the 'clear and pure fount of diction' in *The Dream*, 'one or two degrees above grave prose', and 'curiously like Wordsworth's diction of that order'. 'Grandeur', finally, and 'humour', not only in the conventional sense, are saved for him, by an unsparing relegation to lower literary categories of much matter reputed to exhibit these virtues. A few stanzas of *The Vision of Judgment*, and of *Don Juan*, and many pages of his prose, suffice. Elton has confessed elsewhere a personal attachment to Byron, and a faith in his value as a living force. The present essay, modestly described as 'only stray notes on Byron's art and genius', is a notable example of the critical judgement, at once sensitive and unflinching, which alone can lay bare the enduring 'value' of a great poet 'when all mere enthusiasm, and all mere revulsion, have cleared themselves away'.

Byron has rarely, in England, been taken seriously as a politician, and the extravagance of many of his utterances, as well as the levity of much of his conduct, give some excuse for this attitude. Yet Lord Morley described him as 'the most essentially political of all English poets', and as 'one of the most enormous forces of his time'. It will not do to dismiss his claim to political significance because his political interests often succumbed to the attractions of the last *regnante*, or because he had to be summoned from a ball to attend an important division. Dr. Raymond has done well to concentrate attention upon the vast amount of material available for a judgement upon the quality and force of Byron's political mind—much of it, but by no means all,

of secondary value for the student of his poetry. Her book,⁸ executed with critical discrimination and learning, deals with this aspect of his career in three sections—each of six chapters: ‘England, 1797–1816’, ‘Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy, 1816–23’, ‘Greece, 1823–4’. The first centres in Byron’s memorable (but not always adequately remembered) speech in the House of Lords in defence of the Nottingham frame-breakers, followed by his not less chivalrous attempt to lighten the disabilities of the Catholics. And the verse-satire of the crowded London years which followed his advent to fame, is oftener political than literary. Some obscure pieces are here noticed in detail. The second section handles Byron’s relations with the Italian revolutionaries. Its most notable topic, even in a political sense, is of course *Vision of Judgment*; Dr. Raymond’s comments on this masterpiece, however, are scarcely worthy of its importance. To describe the stanzas on Southey as ‘the cream of the jest’ is to mistake both the proportion of the parts and the quality of the whole. Southey is but a side-piece to the great indictment of the king and his policy, and this (though not ill-tempered) is no jest. The section on Greece is of course almost wholly ‘political’; but this has been repeatedly explored of late years. This useful book is excellently documented.

Certain passages of Byron’s Life, especially his relations with his half-sister, and the closing episode in Greece, have been the subjects of close scrutiny and prolonged discussion during recent years. Mr. Drinkwater has sought,⁹ he tells us, to extend the portrait of a living personality, achieved, in particular, by Mr. Nicolson in *The Last Journey*,¹⁰ over the poet’s entire life. He brings high credentials to the task. A poet of distinction himself, he has mastered the vast critical literature, as well as everything known to have been written by Byron, ‘a poet of immensely prolific output’. He seeks to liberate the poet’s personality both from the melodramatic and from the sentimental perversions of it, while clearly recognizing that neither view of

⁸ *The Political Career of Lord Byron*, by Dora Neill Raymond. Allen & Unwin. pp. xi + 363. 12s. 6d. net.

⁹ *The Pilgrim of Eternity: Byron: A Conflict*, by John Drinkwater. Hodder & Stoughton. pp. xiv + 416. 18s.

¹⁰ See *The Year’s Work*, vol. v, pp. 255–6.

him was entirely illusory ; that the man and the poet alike offered definite coigns of vantage for both. The extreme complexity of Byron—the fundamental ‘conflict’ in him of antagonistic forces—is the presiding conception of the book. In general he has avoided controversy. But he has felt it impossible to describe the life of Byron without first disposing of the gravest question affecting his character. To this, with questionable judgement we think, he has devoted an opening chapter of some seventy pages, as well as most of the Introduction ; achieving no more in the end than to show that the acceptance of Byron’s guilt, placed for most people beyond doubt by recent evidence, still leaves some difficulties unsolved. On the other, smaller but still grave, charge against Byron—the suppression of the Hoppner letter—Drinkwater endorses the Edgecumbe explanation, now generally accepted. Criticism is not the main purpose of the book, and much of what it contains is, to be frank, of rather ordinary, even perfunctory, quality. But there is more than autobiographic interest in his energetic repudiation of the modern disparagement of the later cantos of *Childe Harold*. Few ‘can read through the third and fourth canto without realizing happily that Byron was among the greater energies of English verse. Passage after passage in the concluding canto swells out with a volume and compass that I am glad to confess, after twenty years and more, still sweeps me off my feet.’

In the *Univ. of Texas Bulletin, Studies in English*, iv, Miss F. E. Ratchford publishes two *Notes on Byron*. The first relates to Byron’s quarrel with Southey and Murray. She has found a paragraph of satire upon Southey in the first draft of the Appendix attached to *The Two Foscari*. It was cancelled at Byron’s wish, and had never been published. It is here quoted in full. He incidentally concedes that ‘the poor fellow’ is right about ‘the green hues’ in the sunset sky, ‘for I have seen them frequently this very summer’. She also prints the ‘Advertisement to the Second Edition’ of *The Liberal*, issued, like the second number, on Jan. 1, 1823, but apparently never reprinted. It contains the explanation, to the reader, of the omission from the first number of the famous Preface to the *Vision of Judgment*, which Murray had withheld when, at Byron’s order, he transferred the MS. of the *Vision* itself to Hunt.

The second 'Note' prints the first draft (now preserved in a private library in Texas) of ten stanzas of *Don Juan*. They comprise the eight addressed to Wellington, which now open the Ninth Canto, and two, on Juan and Haidee, which open the Third. The draft presents a few formal divergences from the final text.

The Dutch *English Studies* (vol. vi. 1 and 2) contains a valuable article by F. J. Hopman on Byron. The first part describes 'some personal characteristics'; the second, 'some characteristics of his poetry'. Mr. Hopman lays down four characteristics of 'a great poet', and proceeds to measure Byron by them. A great poet 'must be a seer; he must be a man of powerful and lofty imagination; he must be a synthetic, constructive genius; he must possess the gift of poetic transformation'. Mr. Hopman has no difficulty in showing that in none of these features does Byron attain a very high rank. But without claiming supreme rank for him, one may fairly suspect a critical method which tries to capture a man of Byron's titanic originality within the meshes of *a priori* categories instead of examining, first, what he meant and what he was. With this reserve we have nothing but praise for the essay, which is rich in felicitous observation and written in flawless English.

In view of its importance, tardy reference may be made to Mr. Richard Ashley Price's essay (*Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, Jan. 1924) on *Byron's British Reputation*. Though written before the publication either of Professor Chew's exhaustive history of his fame or of Sir John Fox's decisive judgement upon its gravest problem, Mr. Rice's discussion has independent value. Byron's position to-day, he thinks, does not substantially differ from his position a hundred years ago. The dilemma presented by his union of transcendent genius and outrageous turpitude confronts us still, and if we meet it with 'psychological sophistications' instead of with 'frank hypocrisies', the difference in point of view does not lead to much difference of opinion. It is in fact Byron's psychology that principally occupies Mr. Rice. There is no question of any detailed or systematic treatment. But he discusses with insight the meaning and bearing of Goethe's well-known dictum that 'when Byron reflects he is a child'.

Byron was not of course devoid of 'ideas'. In comparison with Scott or Southey, he appears even rich in them. But they are evolved by, and seen through, emotion, not in a context of argument, and, what weighs still more, they are not liable to be modified by the 'second thoughts' of a revising judgement. Byron's emotion, moreover, is not itself, as Wordsworth's at the highest was, the 'passion which itself is reason'.

In *Goethe and Byron* (Publications of the English Goethe Society, New Series, vol. ii) Dr. Robertson, the professor of German in the University of London, gives a detailed critical survey of their relations. Unlike most cases of international influence, this was a two-sided relation, and called for an unusual mastery of the detail of both literatures. Byron, who knew no German, certainly received more than he gave; but his undoubtedly sincere admiration for 'the illustrious Goethe', his senior by forty years, scarcely measures in intensity or in warmth with the old poet's almost idolatrous homage to the younger. The greater part of the book is occupied with a minute record which, pending the discovery of fresh material, would seem to be exhaustive, of the evidence of Byron's knowledge of Goethe, and then, in a more voluminous second part, of Goethe's knowledge, from 1816 onwards, of Byron. The latter will naturally be less familiar to the English student, whom it concerns, however, as a very important factor in the growth of Byron's European fame. Much of the material is only accessible in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* or in the various collections of Goethe's and other correspondence. Eckermann's conversations, the source of many of Goethe's most striking reputed utterances about Byron, have latterly been subjected to some critical doubts, which Professor Robertson shares, but Goethe's judgement upon Byron as a whole is not affected. The closing sections are a notable contribution to a final clearing of accounts between the two men. Byron, fascinated as he was by the wizard-story in *Faust*, had not a glimpse of Goethe's deeper significance. Goethe, on his part, judged Byron with strong prepossessions. But it is made probable that the Hellenic scenes of the Second Part owe much of their freshness and vitality to the zest with which he followed Byron's travels in actual Greece, not least the final expedition in which 'Euphorion' died.

The veteran poet-philosopher who, in *Love's Coming of Age* and elsewhere, has touched with so much insight and delicacy the problems of sex psychology, has associated himself with a young scientific psychologist in studying, from this point of view, the mind and character of SHELLEY.¹¹ The title thus implies the usual Freudian disposition to treat all psychology as a function of sex. Their results and suggestions are, however, fresh and important. To one who has occupied himself with 'intermediate' sex-types, and who has even ventured to speak of 'the intermediate sex', the case of a man in whom feminine traits were so pronounced as in Shelley is naturally attractive. For Shelley himself, as Mr. Carpenter points out, the conception of the Hermaphrodite, in whom sex characters are blended, had a singular fascination; and he is probably the first to do justice to the serious import of that apparently playful fantasy *The Witch of Atlas*, where the birth of such a being is the central theme. He even ascribes to Shelley the faith that the world could only be saved from its 'consuming rage of gold and blood' by the coming of 'a being having the feminine insight and imagination to perceive the evil, and the manly strength and courage to oppose and finally annihilate it'. But the central contention of both writers, more methodically handled by Mr. Barnefield, is that Shelley, in his love, whether its objects were men or women, was fundamentally 'homosexual'; a 'comrade-love', unconsciously impelling him to intimate and passionate relations with men, while his conscious self sought satisfaction, necessarily in vain, in the love of women. Hence, they argue, not without exaggeration, the failure of both his marriages. They point to the ubiquity in his work of the idea and inspiration of love, together with the extreme reticence and delicacy of his rare allusions to physical erotics.

In *Shelley and 'Empire of the Nairs'* (P. M. L. A. xl. 4) Mr. Walter Graham, from a different angle, makes an important addition to our knowledge of the genesis of Shelley's ideas of marriage. The Utopian romance *The Empire of the Nairs*, written by an Englishman resident in Germany, James Lawrence, and published there, on Schiller's recommendation, as *Das Reich*

¹¹ *The Psychology of the Poet Shelley*, by Edward Carpenter and George Barnefield. Allen & Unwin. pp. 128. 4s. 6d.

der Nairen, in 1801, appeared in English in 1811, but is now nearly inaccessible. Lawrence had propounded his ideas in an essay of 1793, also published in Germany; a date suggestively adjacent to those of Mr. Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, of *Political Justice*, and of *Pantisocracy*. Very few allusions to the book have been found, but it is certain that Shelley met with it, at twenty, and that he was deeply fascinated by its emancipated or, as we should say, 'Shelleyan' ideal of society. In an extant letter (Forman, iii. 346) Shelley wrote to Lawrence, primarily to acknowledge a poem, but incidentally expressing his complete conversion to the doctrines of the *Empire of the Nairs*—this being one of the two known allusions to it. As Mr. Graham justly remarks, whether Lawrence's book changed his opinions or merely confirmed them, it plainly contained a message for him which neither Mary Wollstonecraft nor Godwin had brought. It acquires therefore undoubted interest. Graham sketches 'the Nair system of Gallantry and Inheritance' and summarizes the Romance which displayed the system in action. Its two principles were the abolition of marriage and inheritance through the female line, both in the interest of women; while the chief occupation of the men was in fighting the Mohammedans and rescuing the enslaved victims of their harems. Graham very plausibly supposes that Shelley's choice of Islam as the scene of his *Revolt* reflects this Nairite preoccupation. But he shows that Lawrence's influence begins in *Queen Mab*, and is clearly to be traced in Shelley's elaborate notes. In the *Revolt*, Cynthia's liberation (Canto VIII) of a shipload of maidens destined for the harem is obviously a Nairite affair.

Mr. A. Stanley Walker, in *Peterloo, Shelley, and Reform* (*P. M. L. A.* xl. 1), surveys in detail the complex of events which culminated in the 'Manchester Massacre' of August, 1819, the immediate occasion of Shelley's *Mask of Anarchy*. The antecedents of 'this callous, frenzied, and bloody incident' are re-told from the original documents, with freshness and narrative skill, but will not be new to English readers. The principal interest in the essay lies in its analysis of the *Mask of Anarchy* in relation to these events and to Shelley's matured political thought. His reaction to the 'Massacre' was not, Mr. Walker contends, so simple as has sometimes been represented. The

first news stirred (in his own words) 'a torrent of indignation', and this mood has inspired the revolutionary temper which blazes out again and again in the *Mask*. But germs, at least, of the temper of 'reform' are discernible, and Mr. Walker finds in it 'much of the body of thought immediately afterwards incorporated into the . . . *Philosophical View of Reform*'. Certainly the passion which dominates it is rather pity than hate. But we cannot wonder if contemporary readers (including Hunt) overlooked the reformer in the revolutionary, for the call to arms 'Rise like lions after slumber . . . ye are many, they are few' is the recurring burden of the *Mask* and its final, decisive note.

In *Shelley, Mary Shelley, and Rinaldo Rinaldini* (P. M. L. A. xl. 1) Professor W. E. Peck makes probable that the German romance of *Rinaldo Rinaldini*, translated in 1800, which we know to have been read by Mary in 1815, had been (1) read by Shelley at school, leaving traces in his *Zastrozzi* and *St. Irvyne*; (2) was the source, perhaps through revived recollection of it in 1815, of incidents in *Laon and Cythna* and a person, the hermit Zonoras in *Prince Athanase*; he points out (3) vaguer but most suggestive parallels between the power exercised by Onorio, the supposed prototype of Zonoras, and that mysteriously released in the laboratory of Mrs. Shelley's *Frankenstein*. The formation of the name Zonoras (from Onorio) is ingeniously supported by the frequency in Romantic nomenclature of names in 'Z' (Zapolya, Zofloya, Zastrozzi, &c.).

In *Shelley's 'Prometheus Unbound', or Every Man his own Allegorist* (P. M. L. A. xl. 1) Mr. Newman I. White attacks with much vigour the view frequently, perhaps generally, held that Shelley's drama is an 'allegory'. His criticism, effective enough within certain limits, illustrates a remark of his own to the effect that 'allegory, as a critical term, badly needs clarification'. It is easy to show that the allegorical interpreters have in no case attempted to explain all the characters, that most of them have explained only four or five, and that some of these have been explained in very different terms. But few readers who have been in close touch with Shelley's mind, and have steeped themselves in the imaginative splendours of the poem itself, will feel these negations, however triumphant, to suffice. Allegory,

in the systematic sense of Bunyan or Spenser, or even of Dante, is, doubtless, too rigid a frame to apply to Shelley's poetic thinking here. Yet he was not writing a fairy-tale, or a fantasia, deliberately disengaged from even the air of actual significance, as he did 'for this one time', in the *Witch of Atlas*.

The *Prometheus Unbound* claims from first to last to have a relation to the actual world and to a future for humanity which Shelley contemplated with rapturous hope. It is therefore not merely excusable but inevitable, that posterity has refused to see in it simply a Caucasian legend re-told with beautiful embroideries and arabesques, and has persisted in the endeavour to 'interpret' it. That some 'interpreters' have been too rigidly systematic, and that many of their results disagree, does not dispense us from the task of determining the relation of the 'Caucasian legend', as a whole and in all its parts, to the known beliefs and aspirations of Shelley. And in this White's clever essay gives us little help.

In *P. M. L. A.* xl. 1 Mr. Walter Graham defines more accurately than has yet been done *Shelley's Debt to Leigh Hunt and 'The Examiner'*. Against the consistent vituperation levelled at Shelley, alike as poet and as man, during his lifetime by the Tory journals, his sole public exponent and defender in the press was Hunt. Mr. Graham suggests that Hunt's isolation in this matter was even more complete than is commonly supposed. But though he convicts Dowden of some minor inaccuracies in his reference to the emphatic eulogy upon the *Revolt of Islam* and *Alastor* pronounced by *Blackwood* in the autumn of 1819, that eulogy remains; and with it this critic's indignant repudiation of Shelley's *Quarterly* reviewer,—'a dunce rating a man of genius'.

- In the *S. in Ph.* (Jan.) Mr. Norman I. White corrects some important misconceptions, hitherto current, in regard to the prosecution of Edward Moxon, in 1841, on a charge of blasphemous libel, for publishing Shelley's *Queen Mab*. The points are chiefly two. (1) The trial ended neither 'in favour of the publisher' (Ingpen) nor in his being 'prosecuted and fined' (Forman). Moxon was convicted, but as the prosecution demanded nothing more he was not punished. (2) This anomalous result is explained by the fact that the prosecutor was another Radical,

H. Hetherington, himself implicated in a charge of publishing a pirated edition of *Queen Mab*, with the design, as stated by his friend Abel Heywood, of either preventing his own trial or lightening his sentence. The trial was thus not a genuine case of attack by government upon radical opinion, and the counsel for the prosecution only expressed the hope that Moxon would be acquitted; while Talfourd (of *Ion*) anticipated the Shelley criticism of the eighties by a speech of rapturous eloquence in Shelley's praise. The incident illustrates the hold that Shelley was gaining in radical and intellectual England at the close of the second decade after his death.

Miss Amy Lowell's elaborate study of KEATS is the most ambitious contribution to Keats-literature yet sent us by America.¹² America has always shown a peculiar interest in Keats, and a considerable amount of original material, not yet explored, is now to be found in her public and private libraries; not a little of it in Miss Lowell's own collection. The incorporation of this material, properly organized and interpreted, in the biography of the poet, would itself justify the attempt to narrate it anew. Its intrinsic value, however, is not great. Miss Lowell, as herself a poet of distinction and originality, has a *prima facie* title to an attentive hearing from the students of Keats. She advances the further, more hazardous, claim, that whereas previous critics of Keats have represented the mind of the nineteenth century, she herself expresses the view of this opening generation of the twentieth. Her book thus challenges attention both as biography and as criticism. Under the first head, it certainly makes a number of minute corrections or additions to the material already known, few, however, of importance. The long residence of George Keats in America occasioned the dispatch thither of one of the poet's letters written, during his Scotch tour, to his brother Tom,—a letter long after John Keats's death sent by George to a Kentucky newspaper, in the files of which it was unearthed by Professor Rusk of Indiana in 1924. The letter is one of the best of the series, and it contains an incidental phrase which has led Miss Lowell to propose a revision of Colvin's date for

¹² *John Keats: A Biography*, by Amy Lowell. 2 vols. Cape. pp. xx + 631 + 662. 42s.

the (so-called) 'last sonnet'. This bears also, of course, upon Keats's relations with Fanny Brawne, and upon this episode Miss Lowell has much of interest to say. She has had access to some hitherto unknown letters written by Fanny Brawne some years after the death of Keats, to his sister Fanny. Of the authenticity of these letters the evidence at present afforded us is by no means conclusive. But her quotations from them, if genuine, certainly exhibit Miss Brawne as in maturity, a woman of brains and reflection, and so far support Miss Lowell's contention that the Fanny Brawne whom Keats knew was not the 'heartless coquette' of legend, or in any way unworthy to have been his wife. But the letters require authentication. Under the second head, criticism, we find little to justify, or even to explain, the writer's claim to represent the mind of the present generation about Keats, as distinguished from that of the nineteenth century. She is certainly a whole-hearted devotee of the poet, but so was almost every nineteenth-century critic of account, since the Giffords and Crokers of his own time. If she differs from such accredited exponents as Dr. Bridges, Sir Sidney Colvin, and Professor de Sélincourt, we fear it is not in devotion but in scholarship, reticence, and good taste. Merely as an example we may refer to her mode of disposing (ii. 252) of the 'foolish chatter' provoked by the famous allusion to the 'immortal bird'.

In *P. M. L. A.* xl. 4 Miss Roberta D. Cornelius calls attention to two hitherto unknown reviews of Keats's first volume. The first appeared in *The Champion*, a weekly London paper, on 9th March 1817, the very month in which the volume was published, and three weeks before the appearance of Leigh Hunt's famous articles in *The Examiner* (1st June, 6th July, and 13th July, 1817), the earliest hitherto known. The review (here reproduced, on account of the difficult accessibility of 'Champion' files, *in extenso*) is highly laudatory, if rather rhetorical than critical. Its attitude may be gathered from a single sentence: 'At a time when nothing is talked of but the power and the passion of Lord Byron, and the playful and elegant fancy of Moore, and the correctness of Rogers, and the sublimity and pathos of Campbell (these terms we should conceive are kept ready composed in the Edinburgh Review-shop), a young man starts suddenly before us, with a genius that is likely to eclipse them

all.' From internal evidence (especially the quotation of the two then unpublished Elgin-marble sonnets which Keats dedicated to his friend Haydon, and is known to have sent to him that March) Miss Cornelius infers, rightly we think, that this friendly reviewer was no other than he. The second review, signed 'G. F. M.', appeared in *The European Magazine* for May 1817, still in advance of Leigh Hunt's. The writer also praises highly the 'imagination' of the poet, but twits the former reviewer for his extravagance in so summarily dismissing the claims of the established poets; and, while counting the Chapman's Homer sonnet 'good', finds that its eighth line 'blows out the whole sonnet into an unseemly hyperbole'. There is little doubt that he is rightly identified by Miss Cornelius with another friend of Keats, George Felton Matthew. This review, quoted at large by the Boston *Athenaeum* in the following October, seems to have been the earliest symptom of Keats in America.

In 'W. S. Landor und seine "Imaginary Conversations"' (*Eng. Studien*, Bd. lviii) Hermann Flasdieck publishes a good study of LANDOR. Though primarily intended to introduce a great English man of letters to the German public, where he is almost unknown, the essay is of independent value. The intricate bibliographical history of the *Imaginary Conversations* is carefully traced. The treatment of the dialogues themselves, without being precisely fresh, is thorough and valuable. Flasdieck discusses their bearing on Landor's political opinions, his classical (Latin rather than Greek) and other culture; finally, their literary and dramatic qualities; culminating, in his view, in the consummate power and grace of single sentences.

In *R. S. L., Essays by Divers Hands*, vol. v, Mr. John Bailey offers 'Some Notes on the Unpopularity of Landor'. It is a plea for a better appreciation of him, resting on a substratum of somewhat incisive diagnosis of the characteristics of the generation which requires the plea. One may question whether the tacit assumption that Landor ever can or ought to be 'popular' is entirely sound. He himself foretold, as is well known, that he would 'dine late', and that the diners would be few and select. They are, no doubt. And he probably understood very well what qualities of his work would always make him caviare

to the multitude. But we suspect that our generation, however liable in the mass to Mr. Bailey's diatribes, can easily produce its 'few' who prize Landor for the virtues which the critic holds to be 'the main causes of his unpopularity'—'his habit of living habitually in all ages'; his 'classical sanity of temper'; and his 'severe, almost sculpturesque, purity of form'.

A short essay upon the *Italy* of Samuel ROGERS,¹³ by an Italian, may claim a brief notice here in view of that fact. The immense labour spent by Rogers upon this, his *opus magnum*, as upon his briefer efforts, is proverbial, but has not saved it or him from the neglect, even the disdain, of posterity in his own country. The scathing judgement of the principal contemporary Italian historian of our literature, Emilio Cecchi, indicates that he makes little appeal to 'modernist' taste there also. Adorno seeks to qualify the severity of these judgements. Rogers, he agrees of course, was not a great poet. But he has suffered unduly from the inevitable discord between his 'classically' formed taste and style and the Romantic poetry of his contemporaries, and in particular, as a painter of Italy, from the overwhelming comparison with Byron. Adorno points out the Hugo-like brilliance of some of his pictures (as of the Hospice of the great S. Bernard); and especially his deliberate use of legends, such as those of Romeo and Juliet or William Tell, as examples of primitive imagination, and capable as such of infusing a heightened virtue into the work of modern poets whose own endowment of imagination was incomplete. The poetic beauty derived from the application of classical precision and concentration to romantic material is not factitious, and Rogers's *Italy*, though not approaching greatness, retains charm.

Henry CARY, the first translator of the entire *Divina Commedia* into English, has waited long for a biographer of qualifications at all proportioned to his manifold interest.¹⁴ Mr. R. W. King's book does much more than supplement the rather perfunctory

¹³ Concetto Adorno: '*Italy*' di Samuel Rogers. Firenze: Aldo Funghi. pp. 25. 2 l.

¹⁴ *The Translator of Dante: The Life, Work, and Friendships of Henry Francis Cary*, by R. W. King. Secker. pp. 372. 21s.

Memoir issued after his death by Cary's son. That Memoir deals very slightly with Cary's later career, when he had become the intimate friend not only of Coleridge, but of Rogers, Darley, Hood, Crabb Robinson, Clare, and above all of Charles Lamb. Coleridge's praise of the Translation, in his Lectures of 1818, the real beginning of Cary's fame, is familiar; but, besides narrating this episode with a keener and larger apprehension of what this friendship meant for both men, King has painted as completely as is now possible these intimacies of his later life, and has thus for the first time brought home the real magnitude of this unobtrusive 'translator'. Cary will take his place henceforth as a member on equal terms of the Lamb and Coleridge circle. This King has achieved by a very skilful use of material gathered from the memoirs and letters of the time. A fresh point of interest is his intercourse in his last years with a fellow translator of Dante, the boy Dante Rossetti. Unpublished portions of Crabb Robinson's *Diary* have been used, at times (e. g. p. 252 n.), to correct current errors. King has a keen scent, too, for a problem; thus he identifies a Hogarth referred to in a letter of Lamb to Cary's son Francis, the painter of his portrait and his sister. As a literary critic King displays uniform tact and insight. He has not regarded it as the function of Cary's biographer to discuss at large the qualities of his famous Translation. But the other translations, in particular the Pindar—not less highly thought of in his day than the Dante, and those from Old and Renaissance French, he rightly felt to need the succinct critical notice which he has supplied. The biography is, at all points, a thorough and able piece of work.

In the *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen* (Bd. 147) Frl. Käthe Görlitz gives an account of BROWNING'S *Christmas Eve and Easter Day*, with special reference to the reflections in it of Strauss's *Das Leben Jesu*. Other literary parallels or analogies are adduced in profusion; and if this procedure sometimes appears to be of doubtful value or relevance, it has to be remembered that in Browning we have to do with a mind of vast and multifarious reading, the limits of which it is hard now to define.

A like comment is suggested by the discussion, in *P. M. L. A.*

xl, of *The Landscape of Childe Roland*. Mr. W. C. de Vane aptly recalls the 'Parleying' with Gerard de Lairese and his *Art of Painting in All its Branches*, on the fly-leaf of which Browning wrote in 1874: 'I read this book more often and with greater delight when I was a child than any other.' Mr. de Vane points out that part II, ch. 17 of the *Art* deals with 'things Deformed and Broken, falsely called Painter-like' . . . deformed trees, . . . crooked bodied, old and rent, . . . sharp hills, and monstrous mountains, . . . rough or ruined buildings with their parts lying up and down in confusion, . . . the field furnished with lean cattle . . .' With some reason Mr. de Vane contends that, in spite of the poet's denial of any 'source' but *King Lear*, it was this chapter that 'fashioned the young Browning's ideas of the horrible in landscape, and it was Lairese who dictated, though sometimes in a faint and disguised speech, the landscape that a line from *Lear* conjured up in the poet's mind'.

Sufficient attention has perhaps not been drawn to the scholarly and often brilliant contributions to the study of English Language and Literature now being made in Holland, more particularly, but by no means exclusively, by our colleagues of the English Association of Holland in their journal *English Studies*. An article in this Review has been noticed above under Byron. A second in *Neophilologus* (of which Professor Swaen of Amsterdam is a joint editor) is *An Enquiry into the Causes of SWINBURNE'S Failure as a Narrative Poet, with special reference to 'The Tale of Balen'*, by Willem van Doorn. This is a long and elaborate investigation, continued through four numbers. Much of it, though of great interest—such as the comparison of the Spanish Balen tale with Malory's—does not bear directly on the subject. Van Doorn's attack on Swinburne's Balen as a narrative poem is not entirely without ground; but his criticism is somewhat of the Gifford and Jeffrey school; he applies to Swinburne a too rigid conception of what a 'narrative' poem ought to be. It is plain that a story composed in intricate lyric stanzas will be conveyed in great part by lyric means; so it is in the *Faerie Queene*. It will not do to condemn Spenser because he is not as simple and direct as Homer. And Swinburne too, a great singer (*pace* Mr. van Doorn), wished to convey the

Tale of Balen through a rich and splendid lyric instrument, and had an artistic right to do so. But our critic's objections touch this lyric instrument itself. He scarcely allows Swinburne to have had a command of verse-music at all, reprimands him for choosing 'galloping' lines rather than 'dignified and carefully measured iambics', and finds all alliteration offensive. He attacks the 'verbiage' and 'padding' of the verse with undisguised contempt. Here too he shows the temper and method of a pedagogue rather than of a critic. Swinburne's diction is ample, often redundant, if we will; but the amplitudes of poetry are not to be judged by the rules of formal logic. To take only one example:

But Balen by his falling steed
Was bruised the sorer, being indeed
Way-weary, like a rain-bruised reed
With travel ere he fought.

'This is a very clumsy verse indeed,' comments Mr. van Doorn. 'The bruises Balen received from his horse falling on him cannot have had anything to do with his tired condition. And what connexion is there between 'way-weariness' and a 'rain-bruised reed'? Well, why should not a rider who is so way-worn that he is like a rain-bruised reed feel 'the sorer' when further bruised by his falling steed? Mr. van Doorn knows English well, as a grammatical idiom; but he must forgive us for saying that he has yet to master the subtler and more elusive idiom of English poetry.

Mr. G. Bullett's study of WHITMAN¹⁵ is a judicious attempt to discriminate between the more and the less valuable elements which mix, or jostle, in the impetuous tide of Whitman's verse. American criticism has from the first been more divided about Whitman than English. The great letter from Emerson which welcomed the *Leaves of Grass* was immediately followed by a chorus of execration. It became more difficult for America to do justice even to the sublimities of his enormous temperament when England hailed even his no less frequent 'barbaric yawp' as 'so

¹⁵ *Walt Whitman: A Study and Selection*, by Gerald Bullett. Grant Richards. pp. 166. 15s.

characteristically American'. The present generation of critics, English and American alike, stands on the further shore of these conflicting cross-currents, and can recognize and honour the great poet and noble man that Whitman had in him, while defining incisively and unsparingly the grave and even gross foibles which obstructed, and for many eyes obscured, them both. He was a compound, Bullett in the present 'Study' declares, 'of the angelic and the asinine', a dictum somewhat weakened by the addition 'like all men'; for Walt would hardly have excited the world as he did if the 'angel' in him had not been of a brilliance, and the 'ass' of a blatancy, quite beyond all ordinary experience. The causes of this queer mixture were partly intellectual, partly moral. Whitman's temperament was not balanced by corresponding intellect, and his inordinate vanity ran riot without the control not merely of a disciplined 'taste', but of a sagacious self-regard. Hugo is the nearest parallel. But Hugo lived in a fastidious and mercilessly critical society, where even his far less glaring intermixture of the sublime and the fatuous procured him the cruel nickname of 'Jocrisse en Patmos'. On the moral side, Bullett honours the poet's 'large charity' and the real tenderness for weak and suffering things which sprang from it, while rightly insisting that, in life and in letters alike, there must be choice and exclusion, and that Whitman's frequent professions of all-inclusive love are apt to be not catholic but meaningless. On the other hand, he points to the splendid vindication of the sincerity of those professions by his services in the War years.

The year has seen several additions to our knowledge of Jane AUSTEN. First in importance is the complete publication of the unfinished novel (written in the last months of her life) to which she gave no title but which has long been known in her family as *Sanditon*.¹⁶ Large extracts were appended by J. E. Austen-Leigh to the second edition of his *Memoir* (1871), with a summary of the remainder. The present text is an exact reprint of the whole, preserving the author's contractions and occasional eccentricities of spelling. The numerous corrections of the draft,

¹⁶ *Sanditon: Fragments of a Novel*, written by Jane Austen, January-March 1817. O.U.P. pp. 170, with unpagged preface and notes. 7s. 6d.

recorded in the notes, are of great importance for the study of Miss Austen's style.

Lady Susan, written about 1805, had already been printed in 1871, but is now reprinted from the MS.¹⁷ The notes, giving the author's corrections, are also of much importance.

We may also note the publication of *Five Letters from Jane Austen to her Niece* (O.U.P.).

In *P.M.L.A.* xl, Miss A. B. Hopkins discusses *Miss Austen as a Critic*. Her criticism, like her novel-writing, was narrow in range, but it was absolutely sincere, definite, and within its limits just. *Sense and Sensibility* and *Northanger Abbey* indicate the two targets of her critical shafts within the field of the contemporary novel, and her numerous utterances industriously assembled by Miss Hopkins from the Letters and elsewhere only make these judgements explicit. We doubt whether her allusion to Scott ought to be called 'ungenerous'. She wished, when *Waverley* appeared, that he had stuck to poetry, but she could not help reading it.

DICKENS was the principal subject of a recent course of lectures by the Cambridge professor of English Literature.¹⁸ They are printed as they were spoken. It is easy to understand the attraction of this method for one whose lectures so often suggest a stream of good talk, relieved by what he himself pleasantly calls 'my now notorious discursiveness'. A severe interpretation of 'English Work' might demand a more concentrated, if less agreeable, book. Its theme is a group of famous Victorians, for all of whom, without reserves, he claims an enduring place in our literature and in our regard. Of Dickens himself, this is to say little. To how much in England and English civilization Dickens was blind—nature, country life (including real 'country house' life), religion, ideas,—his critic is well aware, and he sets these opacities forth in unqualified terms. His most regular and ambitious plots, in particular, were injured by imitation of the bad drama of his time. But he puts him, for imaginative greatness, as a creator of character, with

¹⁷ *Lady Susan*, by Jane Austen. O.U.P. pp. 173. 7s. 6d.

¹⁸ *Charles Dickens and Other Victorians*, by Sir A. Quiller-Couch. C.U.P. pp. vi + 240. 10s. 6d.

Shakespeare alone. Such estimates are to some extent personal, and do not require discussion here. But we may notice his appreciations of Dickens's occasionally perfect, and often admirable prose. This aspect of literature was, indeed, a natural pre-occupation of the editor of the *Oxford Book of English Prose* during the composition of these lectures, and we are often reminded of the fact,—usually by his insistence on some imperfectly recognized merit of this kind. Thus he reasons with the scorn for Trollope's prose ('250 words per 15 minutes') naturally induced in the devotees of the Flaubertian *mot juste*. You have to take less merely stylistic standards, even in judging prose. 'In reading Trollope one's sense of trafficking with genius arises more and more evidently out of his large sincerity—a sincerity in bulk, so to speak; wherefore, to appraise him you must read him in bulk . . .' Still freer from the bias of literary convention is the lecture on 'the Victorian background', where a fearless exposure of the horrors of child-labour in the forties of the last century forms a prelude to lectures on the two novelists—Disraeli and Mrs. Gaskell, who led the way, soon followed by Kingsley and by Dickens—in revealing these things to the large novel-reading public. Of course, this had been done before. But Sir Arthur's fresh handling will keep it alive before a later public. He might, however, have added, for students, a reference to M. Cazamian's classical volume *Le Roman social en Angleterre, 1830–50*.

One of the limitations of Dickens referred to above is defined in Mr. Dexter's *The England of Dickens*,¹⁹ a continuation of the writer's previous volumes, *The London of Dickens* and *The Kent of Dickens*. It follows a similar method, carrying us along a series of pilgrim-routes to the numerous English localities mentioned or described, whether under the actual or fictitious names, with appropriate references and frequent quotations. This demanded considerable power of organizing a vast and scattered material, as well, of course, as an exhaustive knowledge of the text. On the other hand, Dexter betrays no suspicion of the literary and psychological problems which his subject offers to the critic and interpreter. At most he has given us the raw material of what a book calling itself *The England of Dickens*

¹⁹ Walter Dexter: *The England of Dickens*. Cecil Palmer. pp. ix + 308. 15s.

might and ought to be. It is a Dickens Gazetteer, excellent of its kind, but without further pretensions.

In *Oliver Twist* and '*The History of the Devil*' (P. M. L. A. xl. 4) Miss Marie Hamilton Law produces some evidence to show that in his drawing of the group of criminals in the novel referred to, Dickens may have borrowed some suggestion from the theory of criminality put forward in the *History* by Defoe. Dickens is known from his Letters to have bought a copy of Defoe's book, in November 1837, while *Oliver Twist* was appearing serially in Bentley's *Magazine* (a year before its publication in book form), and to have read it with high relish. In the same letter he speaks of the difficulty he is having in keeping his 'hands off Fagin and the rest of them in the evening'. Miss Law points out the similarity between this gang and the kind of human material which Defoe represents the Devil as choosing for his instruments. She points out other apparent borrowings from the *History*.

Charles KINGSLEY is still, in Germany, one of the most living and keenly discussed personalities of the English nineteenth century. It is especially the rare union in him of the social reformer, the devout cleric, and the novelist, which excites interest; and the tokens of this interest have even multiplied since the War. Brunner's article on *Charles Kingsley als christlich-sozialer Dichter* appeared in *Anglia* three years ago, and in the same periodical (Bd. xlix. 1), *Charles Kingsley als sozial-reformatorischer Schriftsteller*, Dr. Ella Juhnke now surveys the same field once more in greater detail and with much trenchant criticism of her predecessors. The essay shows throughout scholarship and research, as well as a pronounced intellectual and moral sympathy for Kingsley and his work. His numerous social 'reform' projects are described in the first part of the essay; successive sections deal with 'the Church as the instrument of Reform; the necessity of Leadership; communal work; education; hygiene; emigration; patriotism as a bond of social unity; and *Petite Culture*',—in Kingsley's phrase 'small spade-farming'. In the second part the writer insists, against Cazamian, that Kingsley's social-reforming activity was not a passing episode but his lifelong interest;

and that if his activity declined after 1850, this was not because his social conscience was lulled by optimism, but through a sad resignation to the limited possibilities open to the reformer.

In her study of George ELIOT's relations with Germany,²⁰ which comes to us with the prestige of Professor Hoops' *Anglistische Forschungen*, Frl. Sibilla Pfeiffer has collected with German thoroughness the rich but scattered material bearing on her theme. George Eliot ranks with, or above, Coleridge, Carlyle, and Arnold, among the few English writers of the century widely and intimately acquainted with German literature, philosophy, and art. But the reaction upon her own work was not comparably deep or important. As Frl. Pfeiffer observes, the core of her nature was inflexibly English, and if her sensitiveness to German culture was remarkably versatile, and her German allusions abundant, if she quoted here a song, there imitated a scene, if she sent Ladislaw and Deronda to study at German universities, she underwent no creatively transforming influence from that source. Frl. Pfeiffer's task demanded accordingly patient labour chiefly, and this she has given without stint. She approaches her special theme through the long perspective of Anglo-German relations from the sixteenth century onwards. English interest in the modern literature scarcely preceded the close of the eighteenth century, and first appeared sporadically in half a dozen detached centres. Frl. Pfeiffer traces the several 'traditions' of Edinburgh, Norwich, Liverpool, Bristol, London; and then describes in more detail the circle of George Eliot's friends, her successive travels in Germany, with the illuminating comments of her letters and note-books. Her German scholarship is declared to be on the whole sound and thorough. Her relation to Germany's intellectual life is examined at length. Her literary interest was focused in Lessing, Schiller, Goethe, and Heine. She and Lewes saw *Nathan* on their first visit to Berlin in 1854-5, and this 'crowning work' of 'dear Lessing' had perhaps of all German poems the greatest moulding power upon her thought. Frl. Pfeiffer well contrasts their attitude to Lessing and that of the English Romantics. Coleridge and

²⁰ *George Eliots Beziehungen zu Deutschland*, von Sibilla Pfeiffer. Heidelberg: Winter. pp. xix + 309. 12 M. 50.

De Quincey had valued him as the author of the *Laokoon* and as a master of critical prose; but his 'religion of humanity' for them marked only the 'formidable infidel'. Coleridge, again, had been enthralled in his youth by Schiller's *Robbers*; but it was the impassioned idealism of Schiller's maturity which now won the homage of George Eliot's kindred intellect. Frl. Pfeiffer does not often venture beyond the lead of tangible facts; we may therefore notice her suggestion that Schiller's *Wallenstein* had some actually formative influence upon George Eliot's novels: 'All her characters are [like *Wallenstein*] brought by circumstances into the way of sin and calamity. They think they are acting rightly, and have in the end to recognize that what they took for the direction of a higher power was only meant for a warning, and that they were deceived in the persons on whom they most firmly built.' *Deronda's* Mirah, she notes again, is 'saved by reading Shakespeare and Schiller'. The section on German philosophy is chiefly, of course, concerned with Strauss and Feuerbach. In the section on Music she notes that for George Eliot 'music' is almost always German music, and makes it probable that Klesmer in *Deronda* stands for Liszt, whom she knew in 1854, and regarded as the first of German musicians.

In *Another source for 'The Cloister and the Hearth'* (P. M. L. A. xl. 4) Mr. A. M. Turner shows that READE used, besides the numerous other sources noticed by his editors, the *Histoire des Hôtelleries, &c.*, of Francisque Michel and Édouard Fournier, Paris, 1851. He establishes beyond question that this is, in fact, the 'book . . . on the Hotels and Taverns of the Middle Ages' which Reade states in a letter, apparently about 1859, that he had just 'got over from Paris. I find much good matter in it for *A Good Fight* [the original title of *The Cloister and the Hearth*]'. One of the passages thus used by Reade is the description of a Spanish inn from Quevedo (but evidently read in Michel's French version). Another is the story of Gerard's escape from the old mill, apparently misunderstood, but improved, by Reade. A third is the adventure in the Burgundian hostelry, where Denys and Gerard are warned by the maidservant that they will be attacked by their host

and his confederates in the night,—a story retailed by MM. Michel and Fournier from Luther's *Table-talk*.

Sweden, which has done so much striking and original work on Milton, now sends us a remarkable monograph on CARLYLE.²¹ It is neither a biography nor a systematic survey of writings, but an attempt to facilitate the comprehension of his Titanic yet elusive personality by an examination of its historic origins and affinities. Hagberg finds most of the current formulas for him too summary. For some critics he is a Puritan, for others a Romantic; and though both descriptions are true, few have inquired closely how this paradoxical union of opposites came about, and how this inner dissonance was compatible with the daemonic power of conviction which won the *élite* of mid-century England for the gospel of Will and Work. The elucidation of this paradox is the central thesis of his book; and *Sartor Resartus*, where the fundamental Carlylean antinomy appears in its earliest and most intense form, stands in the forefront of the whole inquiry, and has done much not only to determine its issue, but to shape its course. The other famous books, *Heroes*, *The French Revolution*, *Frederick*, *Cromwell*, fall into categories which *Sartor* provides or suggests. The first of the three main sections ('Romantic') deals specifically with this problem. Hagberg sets out with an investigation of the origin and nature of the Puritan in Carlyle. He is not content, like Carlyle's biographers in general, to point to the grand exemplar of untaught Scottish Calvinism, his father. In an elaborate chapter, 'The Puritan Intellectualism', he sketches the cultural and spiritual history of England from the Reformation. Puritanism is for him the true beginning of English Protestantism, and he identifies its revolt from Catholicism—too hastily, we must think—with the rationalist and scientific revolt against the older (but also often enough against the newer) faith. The intellectual and scientific emancipation which began in England with the Royal Society and Locke is thus attached, as a necessary consequence, to the practical, matter-of-fact temper of Puritanism, a view which ignores too lightly the mystical side of a movement to which George Fox and Bunyan belonged

²¹ Knut Hagberg: *Thomas Carlyle*. Stockholm: Norstedt. pp. 356.

with at least as good right (as Hagberg of course fully allows) as Daniel Defoe. To some extent Hagberg is thus inventing the paradox he holds up for our wonder when, at the close of this chapter, he points to Carlyle, a Calvinist of the purest water, who yet hated the Voltaire and the 'Enlightenment'. 'The one half of what Carlyle said and believed could be summed up in Newman's "calculation never made a hero". The other half . . . could be summed up in John Knox's "a pented bredd" He was a Puritan who with all his heart and soul fought the ideas which were the consequences of Puritanism.' How, in Hagberg's view, this dissolution of that intimate nexus was effected in Carlyle, how the Puritan, in a word, became also, and not less completely, a Romantic, is described in the following chapter, 'The Clan and the Past'. The ground of this transformation has hitherto been sought solely in the spell of Goethe and Fichte, Novalis and Jean Paul. Hagberg allows these influences only an auxiliary part in the process. For him Carlyle was a Romantic primarily because he was a Scot, a Scot with an unusual measure of the clan-passion and inborn mysticism of the Highlands, Lowlander as he was; because he was the fellow-countryman not only of David Hume, but of the poet of 'auld lang syne', of the Highland Reaper with her song of 'battles long ago'. Of the depth and tenderness of Carlyle's feeling of kinship, the evidence is collected in an interesting way from the *Reminiscences* and elsewhere. At the same time the argument is pressed, we must think, rather hard. Even Romantic Scotland has no second Carlyle, or even the embryo of one; and Sir Walter, the very impersonation of that side of the Scottish genius, was the least Carlylean of Scots, as Carlyle with unnecessary scorn implicitly proclaimed in his famous review. But Hagberg goes on in his valuable and important following chapter, 'The Living Garment of God', to examine the real extent and nature of the 'German influence'. More clearly and trenchantly than has, we think, been done before, he dismisses the view that Carlyle was in any sense a philosophical thinker, or that he had the smallest understanding of what the great philosophical movement initiated by Kant really meant. The 'Copernican revolution' did not exist for him. Of Schelling and Fichte's transcendentalisms, widely

disparate as they were, he apprehended only the brilliant superficial impression, interpreted in part through the spectacles of the genuinely metaphysical Coleridge, of whose preoccupation with 'subject and object' he later spoke with so much contempt. But both those superficial impressions were profoundly efficacious in awakening the Carlyleanism of Carlyle, and Hagberg shows in a striking way how Schelling's thesis, that Nature is a wondrous colossal organism with humanity as an atom in the universe, and 'Fichte's, that Nature is an unreal appearance by means of which man realizes his destiny', are proclaimed with the same burning conviction on adjacent pages of *Sartor*; and this not because Carlyle was an eclectic, but because each thesis appealed to a profound part of his own nature; the one to the Romantic, the other to the 'Puritan'; so that for the Carlyle in whom both were inseparably welded, the contradiction fell away.—We can only briefly indicate the contents of the remainder of the book. The second section ('Biographical') studies in two elaborate chapters the evolution of Teufelsdröckh, and the nature of the grim or resigned acceptance of life, which the Carlyles called 'anti-gigmanism',—once more resuming, but in their bearing upon Carlyle's actual experience, the fundamental antinomy of 'Romantic and Puritan', the gospel of 'Work' itself being newly rooted in the strenuous life-philosophy of Puritanism. The final section ('Political') shows how the apparent paradox of Carlyle's early 'sansculottism' and his later imperialism can be explained by their common root, the Puritan and his gospel of Work. We hope that this powerful and brilliant book will be translated.

The third volume of Mr. Wilson's monumental *Life of Carlyle*²² carries the narrative over the twelve important years from 1837 to 1848. Its culminating event is the writing of *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* (1842-5), led up to by his successive courses of Lectures, *German Literature* (1837), *Revolutions in Modern Europe* (1839), *Heroes* (1840); and by *Chartism* (1839) and *Past and Present* (1843). Critical power is not one of Wilson's qualifications as a biographer of Carlyle, and the reader of his previous volumes will not look for it here.

²² *Carlyle on Cromwell and Others*, by David Alec Wilson. Kegan Paul. pp. xi + 421. 15s.

His excellence lies in the indefatigable weaving together of the vast material now available in memoirs and letters into an almost day by day narrative of the life and doings of the Carlyles. In these years, when Carlyle was a personality in London society, and highly attractive to a host of other interesting men and women, the task of integrating this material becomes more formidable than ever; and Wilson's narrative inevitably acquires much of the profuse heterogeneity of the daily jottings in a diary. But much of this material is of far more than passing interest for the student of literature, of ideas, and of the intellectual and social history of the period. Of this order is, for instance, the full record of opinion about Carlyle's work, often from unfamiliar sources. Such, in the early chapters of this volume, is the account of the not seldom piquant reaction of early Victorian opinion to the violent and exciting shock of the *French Revolution*; from Jeffrey's qualified rapture and Southey's warm approval to Wordsworth's stern condemnation, and the laconic reply of a government official to Sir H. Taylor's application for a pension for Carlyle, that 'a man who wrote such a style as that *ought* to starve'.

- Mr. G. K. Chesterton's little book on COBBETT²³ opens a series described as 'intimate' biographies, a term which seems to presuppose a peculiar sympathy on the part of the biographer with his subject, and it is not difficult to understand that Mr. Chesterton felt Cobbett, in this sense, a subject to his mind. We do not mean merely that Cobbett's career abounds in the kind of material which falls at a touch into paradox and almost solicits epigram. In a larger sense, Cobbett the man appealed to some of his biographer's strongest instincts, preferences, and antagonisms. He stood stoutly for some of the oldest things in England,—tilth of the land, yeomanry, beer, beef, and bread, and fiercely denounced the new economics, the new Whigs, and the religion of the Reformation. An entire section, devoted to 'The Amateur Historian', is in effect a clever vindication of medieval England through the mouth of this plain Georgian Englishman who appears so completely devoid of the medieval or of the mystic temper. Cobbett, however, was not so destitute

²³ *William Cobbett*, by G. K. Chesterton. Hodder & Stoughton. pp. 277. 6s.

of that strain as not to have moments, like that in which, on one of his 'Rural Rides', he came across an object in a garden shaped like a cross; an incident which under his exponent's idealizing touch is invested with a significance like that of the vision 'on the way to Damascus'. Chesterton's personality and temperament are too pronounced for perfectly 'objective' portraiture; but he has seized some features of Cobbett with a really 'intimate' understanding, and driven them home with eloquence and force.

In his collection of 'New Writings by William HAZLITT',²⁴ Mr. Howe makes an important addition to the gleanings of Hazlitt's editors, Messrs. Waller and Glover, and of his earlier biographer M. Douady. In this field of anonymous journalism complete and secure results are beyond reach; and Mr. Howe, who has accepted fourteen and rejected twelve of the pieces accepted by his predecessors, and has further added nineteen new ascriptions of his own, will scarcely claim more than a qualified finality. But for our generation, at least, Mr. Howe's unsurpassed mastery of the entire range of Hazlitt literature gives his results decisive weight. He has also enjoyed one notable advantage over his predecessors,—the presence, in Yale University Library, of a complete file of the 'Atlas' newspaper, to which Hazlitt contributed in the last years of his life. The only other copy known, that in the British Museum, is for two months, May and July, 1829, defective. Mr. Howe has thus been able to examine the file for these two months, with the result that he has found six unknown articles. The thirty-three pieces now added to the Hazlitt canon are provided with admirable annotations.

Brief mention may be made here of Mr. E. M. Clark's essay, *The Kinship of Hazlitt and Stevenson* (*Univ. of Texas Bulletin: Stud. in English*, 4th March 1924), which has interest for its comments upon Hazlitt himself. Mr. Clark, pointing to Stevenson's repeatedly expressed admiration for Hazlitt, attempts to define the points of contact and of divergence between the great elder critic and his 'sedulous ape'. Actual approximations in

²⁴ Hazlitt: *New Writings*. Collected by P. P. Howe. Secker. pp. 277. 7s. 6d.

style and thought are quoted from the *Table-talk* and the 'Virginibus Puerisque' essays; painting, walking, idleness, were topics not only common to both, but which the younger envisaged in a way palpably coloured by the characteristic vision of the elder. The distinction between them as writers is not ill drawn in the sentences: 'Stevenson expressed a truth when he said, "We cannot write like Hazlitt". He himself wrote both better and worse. One must allow that Hazlitt has the greater ruggedness and force, the greater simplicity and perspicuity of style . . . Stevenson loved the art of words, and few have manipulated words with greater skill . . . The one [tended] towards simplicity, the other towards elaboration.' Perhaps the balance of the comparison is weighted somewhat unduly on Stevenson's side. The present generation is still under the spell of his charm and cheer, his touches of 'Puck' and 'Ariel', of Hamlet, even of the 'Shorter Catechist'. But we see above him, as he himself saw, the more masculine personality in which the gorgeous imagination of Romanticism was crossed with the stern iconoclasm of the revolutionary, and who could justly declare, when near death, 'I have written no commonplace, nor a line that licks the dust'.

Mr. Wherry's *Cambridge and Charles Lamb*²⁵ is, thanks to the happy latitude allowed by the English 'and', less meagre than the tenuity of Lamb's relations with that university might suggest. He stayed with Manning in 1801; he and Mary made a memorable excursion there in 1815; he dates a letter there in 1819; and he is thought to have visited Coleridge when the latter was an undergraduate at Jesus. But of these visits we know all that we are likely to know from the familiar and delightful letters written by Charles or Mary before or after. Such special interest as belongs to the present volume is derived from its agreeable record of six Lamb dinners organized at Cambridge by a Lamb enthusiast, the late Charles Sayle, an Under Librarian of the University Library from 1909 to 1914, and held on 10th February, the anniversary of Lamb's birth. At each dinner a distinguished guest, invited for the purpose,

²⁵ *Cambridge and Charles Lamb*, by George Wherry. With an Introduction by E. V. Lucas. C.U.P. pp. 148. 5s.

delivered a Lamb discourse. Among these guests were Mr. Birrell, Mr. E. V. Lucas, Mr. E. Gosse (as he then was), Sir W. Raleigh, and Sir H. Newbolt. Mr. Gosse described the centenary dinner organized by Swinburne in memory of Lamb ('the only occasion on which he organized anything') in 1875. Mr. Lucas's essay on Lamb and Cambridge is a valuable summary of all the known and probable facts. There are several fine portraits—Hazlitt's, Lamb, George Dyer, William Frend, and Mary Lamb.

XII

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

II

[By H. V. ROUTH]

It must, of course, be merely a coincidence of publishing dates that the weight of literary opinion seems to fluctuate year by year between two points of view. On some former occasions we have noticed that commentators and exponents were inclining towards an adventurous line of interpretation. They seemed to realize that a new world was opening before us on every hand and that we must follow the wildest flights of our poets and humanists among these novel experiences and speculations. But this year the voices of reaction are making themselves heard with more than usual impressiveness. It is being urged that the spirit in its deepest and fullest sense responds only to the ideals and emotions which have always swayed mankind since literature became a force in civilization, and that therefore we are more likely to save what is best and noblest in life, if we keep to the example of our earlier prophets and poets, and follow them in their knowledge of human nature and in their presentment of beauty. In other words the classicists are, for the thousandth time, turning on the romantics. It is no business of the present survey to enter upon this unending controversy (centuries older than the appearance of *Lyrical Ballads* or the Preface to *Cromwell*), but it seems to be impossible to review the critical work of the last year without watching the books and articles range themselves under one banner or the other.

Let us begin with the second edition of Mr. Harold Williams's *Modern English Writers*,¹ all the more since it first appeared in

¹ *Modern English Writers: Being a Study of Imaginative Literature, 1890-1914*, by Harold Williams. Sidgwick & Jackson. pp. xii + 532. 16s.

1918 before our annual survey had been started. Mr. Williams's volume must be the most comprehensive and detailed work yet published on the period. While Professor Cunliffe confined himself to the most conspicuous names, Mr. Williams has succeeded in mentioning nearly every author, and has compressed a vast amount of appropriate information into what are generally short notices. Besides, he employs the art of quotation with judgement as well as knowledge. The author has also had the wisdom not to treat his period as if it stood out in abrupt isolation, sundered from the past. The work of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries has been used for comparison, and it is also interesting to find that French influences are more specifically alluded to than is usual. The chapters on the poets and poetesses seem perhaps to be somewhat lacking in sympathy, but those on the novelists, and especially on the playwrights, are written with insight and are full of suggestive ideas. The views on the conflict of dramatic tendencies, especially on the rise of the Abbey Theatre in Dublin and on the genius of Synge, are particularly well worth reading.

And yet one somehow feels that the book has appeared too soon to attain to its full usefulness. The writer does not think so. 'I am told', he says, 'that, as it stands, the book is now more up to date than shortly after its publication.' Whether the reader agrees with him depends on the school to which he belongs. Mr. Williams is unmistakably reactionary. He has several times stated his creed. He declares, 'poetry is always poetry; the distinction between major and minor poetry is a fallacy of the Philistines'. Or again, 'literature consists not in the use of language to express ideas, but in the use of a language that is invested by context and analogy with a special power, an unexpected significance'. And once more, 'Art has no direct concern with passing problems in politics, moral and social economics; its foundations are fixed upon the unchanging in human nature—the emotional reaction to experience'. We cannot be too grateful for such principles, but when we come to study their application, some readers will inevitably call to mind the altered perspectives of the twentieth century. Imaginative literature should not primarily be concerned with institutions. Yet how much of the modern study of institutions (from *The*

Pillars of Society to *The New Machiavelli*) arises from the discovery that the human spirit is, or ought to be, something altogether alien and inadaptably to these social overgrowths. How often does a contemporary writer anatomize some old-established conventionality or newly arisen tendency, in order to lay bare and extricate the individual urges half-smothered beneath! Are we not, at any rate in some degree, engaged in salvaging primitive human nature from beneath the debris of collapsed or collapsing civilizations? Is it not such prospects as these which render the twentieth century so many-sided and endue even second-rate literature with a special significance? Does Mr. Williams realize the present urgency of these problems? Although he claims that his book is 'a means of study and inquiry, not a dogmatic assignation of values', yet the progressives will find his point of view rather exclusively judicial and academic for the needs of to-day. He claims that the function of the poet is to help us to realize our world, yet his pronouncements seem to be over-influenced by such old-fashioned considerations as choice of metre, 'end-stopped lines', 'the handling of the octo-syllabic couplet', the melody, the colouring, 'the craftsmanship in words', 'the level of literary accomplishment'. When we pass on to other chapters we find that he seems hardly to understand the possibilities of internationalism in literature, or of the so-called Ibsen school. Nor does he realize that Conrad's studies of twentieth century manhood would hardly have been possible in any but an age of science. He seems particularly prejudiced against Shaw, Galsworthy, and Oscar Wilde. In fact, the book does not sufficiently allow for the illusions and disillusionments of the present. It is written more from the view-point of the past and so will come into its full usefulness in the future.

But these are suggestions; subjects for discussion. One can pay no greater compliment to a book of criticism than to question some of its views, after having read every page with interest. Besides, no one will deny that Mr. Williams has treated the more imaginative and emotional writers with admirable sympathy and insight, and that is impossible to close his survey without an ardent desire to turn at once to the originals.

If the reader wishes to understand the full depth and point of the present-day reaction, he must turn to Mr. Noyes's *Some*

Aspects of Modern Poetry.² Mr. Noyes dwells on many qualities worth praising in various modern writers, for instance the cosmic range of intellect in Mrs. Meynell's perfect verse; the undertones of Emerson's poetry and the extent of his influence on later writers; Henley's gift of portraiture; Dobson's mastery of metrical effects; self-revelation in Stevenson's child poems; the simplicity and directness of Swinburne's tragedies; the faultlessness and felicity of Tennyson's work. But it will be noticed that none of these writers really belongs to our own time. In fact, Mr. Noyes fears for the present and trembles for the future. For him, contemporary civilization seems to be like a number of conflicting forces which will end in destroying each other. So the problem before us is to search for the unifying principle in life—'to make some synthesis or we shall find ourselves wandering through a world without meaning'. Or again, 'our optimists are shutting their eyes to the suffering of the world and bidding us worship Apollo and Aphrodite. Our pessimists are shutting their eyes to the joy of the world and bidding us abuse an eyeless Blunderer'. In this respect the essay entitled 'Acceptances' is the most significant in the volume. Mr. Noyes claims that there are certain traditional postulates which are the essence of our civilization, the foundations of life, thought, art, literature, and religion; and he seems to suggest that these qualities are to be sought through the writings of the older poets and to be perpetuated by copying their methods. Without this discipline, this conformity to law, we shall lose touch with beauty, nay more, with forces which may yet bring harmony into the chaos of modern life. Like Mr. A. M. Clark, he fears that the younger generation may completely lose its way for lack of reverence and humility, but unlike the author of *The Realistic Revolt in Modern Poetry* (1922)³ he does not stop to ask the causes of this recklessness nor seek for the possibility of its justification.

By the side of these more serious speculations there is little space to discuss Mr. Symons's agreeable but rather disconnected

² *Some Aspects of Modern Poetry*, by Alfred Noyes. Hodder & Stoughton. pp. ix + 288. 7s. 6d.

³ See *The Year's Work*, vol. iii, pp. 204-6.

causeries,⁴ some of which do not fall within our period, while some are primarily concerned with French literature. But all students of Conrad should read his essay on this novelist whose stories (according to Mr. Symons) have no plots but are 'a series of studies in temperaments or emotions barely held together by the skeleton outline of incidents'. The appreciations of Oscar Wilde (in 'On English and French Fiction') and of Coventry Patmore should be compared to those developed by Mr. Burdett (see *The Year's Work*, 1920-1, pp. 183 ff. and vol. v, pp. 285-7). Mr. Symons maintains that 'the aim of criticism is to distinguish what is essential in the work of a writer; and in order to do this, its first business must be to find out where he is different from all other writers'. With this end in view he has made some interesting parallels and contrasts between English and French writers, particularly George Moore and Zola, and he is led to make some singular projections of character which may not always convince the reader, but which always seem to linger in the memory. Thus 'to read Conrad is to shudder on the edge of a gulf, in a silent darkness', and 'Thompson comes to us a cloudy visionary, a rapturous sentimentalist, in whom emotion means coloured words and sight the opportunity for bedazzlement'.

Nor are we very much helped in the return to classicism by Mr. I. A. Richards's thoughtful but whimsical article on *The Background for Contemporary Poetry* (*The Criterion*, July), which is rather difficult to follow. Mr. Richards argues that men have always tried to base their feelings, their attitude, and their conduct on their knowledge, that is to say, on the facts which they held to be true about themselves and the world around them. So we have generally sought for knowledge believing that it would be our best guide to both our spiritual and practical life. But during the last three or four generations, knowledge has poured in upon man with a vengeance and it has proved to be material very uncongenial to the nourishment of his soul. Consequently the poets, whose function always is to give order and coherence and so freedom of enjoyment to our experiences, find their task unfamiliar, in fact almost impossible. They cannot

⁴ *Dramatis Personae*, by Arthur Symons. Faber & Gwyer. pp. ix + 358. 8s. 6d.

reconcile themselves to nature as she appears, seen through the eyes of science, so they are paralysed or they try to escape from life. Hence we labour under a sense of desolation, of futility, of uncertainty, of the vanity of human endeavour, of the lack of vision. This, too, is the reason why even the best traditional poetry is becoming more difficult of approach. As we have discarded the old ideas of God and Man, we have lost the means of access, and a far greater imaginative effort is needed before we can find ourselves on common ground with the older humanists and prophets.

Few publications will bring home the tendencies of the moment more strikingly than the appearance of *The Contemporary Theatre*.⁵ As Mr. Coward says, the critic has an 'unbridled passion for dead dramatists and deader plays', and it is most significant that these reviews, first published in *The Sunday Times*, are based on academic theories with a fastidious and almost classic taste. So from the reactionary view these essays are no less than a manual of dramatic judgement. The discussion on *King Lear* is an excellent introduction to the study of the principal character; the summary of W. Archer's position could hardly be bettered. But Mr. Agate is most effective when he insists upon the peculiar conditions of dramatic art. In this connexion his comparison of Duse with Bernhardt will open new glimpses into the mysteries of stage personality, and he has the learning as well as the judgement to quote de Goncourt when emphasizing the 'visual conviction' (*point juste de l'optique*) which renders a play so different a medium from a novel. Or consider what is implied by such a phrase as 'the first act is a-shimmer with wit of the best theatrical kind—the non-literary sort that has to be spoken in the situation'. Or, 'It is the greatest compliment to this play (sc. *St. Joan*) to say that at its tragic climax every eye was dry, so overwhelmingly had its philosophic import mastered sentiment. None in the audience would have saved Joan, even if he could'. On the other hand, Mr. Agate gives us no hint of the urge behind *Progress*, *Old English*, *The Vortex*, and all that for him needs explanation in *The Adding Machine* is expressionism, which he elucidates as

⁵ *The Contemporary Theatre*, by James Agate. With an Introduction by Noel Coward. Chapman & Hall. pp. xii+314. 7s. 6d.

'the characters spoke their thoughts instead of the polite nothings without which society would come to an end'.

While discussing the attitude of the reactionaries we must remember that the progressives have not been silent. Mr. Moulton prefaces his enjoyable *The Best Poems of 1925*⁶ with Mr. Towne's little distich beginning 'We need not fear! for Beauty shall endure' and ending 'Beauty still lives—you little critics be damned'. Mr. Cournos introduces *The Best Short Stories of 1925*⁷ with the contention that the essence of the short story is not so much detachment as the revolt against science and the artistic impulse towards self-expression and the indulgence of the writer's personality; and he seems to join with his collaborator Mr. O'Brien in claiming that they have ample material to compile a volume of stories 'which have rendered life imaginatively in organic substance and artistic form'. He bases his views on Dostoëvsky, Turgeniev, Gorki, Ibsen, and Croce. Perhaps it was to be expected that some of the least hesitating voices should be heard from the Continent. We should begin by noting that Karl Arns has produced a most suggestive review⁸ of and introduction to contemporary English literature. Like so many others, he is under no illusions about the present state of our culture. He recognizes our social and economic insecurity; our poverty and, at the same time, our craving for pleasure. But he also recognizes that the younger generation are developing a new set of emotions, in reaction to these experiences. Thus, although religion is almost dead, faith has been born again. Though modern culture is exposed in all its poverty and nakedness, a new world of ideas is being constructed to take its place. According to Herr Arns, even Freud is studied to effect release from rationalism and materialism and to open new realms of speculation. The spirit of revolution, even of nihilism, may be abroad in the drama, the lyric, and the novel no less than in politics; yet with such bolshevism there dawns a longing to penetrate the Unknown and the Mysterious.

⁶ *The Best Poems of 1925, selected by Thomas Moulton, and decorated by John Austen.* Cape. pp. xiv. 6s.

⁷ *The Best Short Stories of 1925. I. English (with an Irish Supplement),* ed. by E. J. O'Brien and John Cournos. Cape. pp. 374. 7s. 6d.

⁸ *Jüngstes England: Anthologie und Einführung,* von Karl Arns. Eugen Künster Verlag. Leipzig, Köln. pp. 322. 4 M.

Thus fabulism (*Fabulistik*), revolution, psycho-analysis, and mysticism are the dominating forces of our time, and Herr Arns then proceeds to examine these traits in the careers and creations of individual authors and to illustrate them by translated extracts. He wants to show that the new generation has one clear-purposed objective: to find a way to face life and understand it (*die Vermittlung einer Weltanschauung*), and to find words to express the rebirth of their souls, the dawn of a spiritual revolution (*Sich-aussprechen einer neuen Geistigkeit, den Anbruch einer geistigen Revolution*). Unfortunately, the compass of one such modest volume is not enough for him to establish his views, much less to support them by adequate extracts. So the general effect of Herr Arns's survey is disappointing. Here and there the English reader will pick up something illuminating or unusual. For instance, the critic points out how Conrad throughout his literary life and Galsworthy during his later phase have both had marked leanings towards symbolism; he recognizes that there is much to learn and even to admire in Mr. Powys's studies of dirt and sin. He draws attention to Mr. J. D. Beresford's universality. 'He immerses himself in the past, he gazes into the future, in order to link them with the present' (*Er versenkt sich in die Vergangenheit, blickt in die Zukunft, um sie mit der Gegenwart zu verknüpfen*). Clemence Dane is credited with insight into the 'Over-world' without availing herself of theosophical speculation. Catherine Mansfield is compared to Chekov and her work is characterized as suggesting a consistent renunciation of realism (*Ihr Werk bedeutet vielleicht die konsequenteste Absage an den Realismus*). It is most of all in the drama that we feel the urge to create things anew as we really see them (*eine neue Realität zu schaffen*). But here again the space is too restricted for anything but common-places or unsupported assertions. But it is good to see that Mr. C. K. Munro is credited with having discovered possibilities for development in realistic drama.

On turning from reviews and surveys to monographs, we find the same conflict between the classical and romantic interpretations of life, and on the whole the classicists seem for the moment to hold the field. Take the study of Swinburne. For the sake of comparison, the reader should begin with Sir Edmund

Gosse's appreciation written for Dr. Brandes's *Det nittende Aarhundrede* in 1874, and now first printed for private circulation in English. The study was intended for foreigners to whom Swinburne was then altogether unknown, yet there must still be many of our countrymen who might peruse it with profit as well as pleasure. But what the twentieth-century reader will find to be most noteworthy is the Victorian admiration for personality and the power to live in the poet's world of enthusiasm and vision, while remaining impeccably judicial towards his artistic achievement. With that model before us, we return to the criticisms of last year.

Signorina Galimberti⁹ has produced a long and thoroughly well documented inquiry into the development and range of the poet's mind. She conceives of Swinburne as a spirit made up of contradictions and conflicts, owing to the time and place of his activities. He was an atheist possessed by the necessity to worship; an ardent admirer of Shelley and Victor Hugo, but also of Landor and Baudelaire, he was fired with enthusiasm for Italy, liberty, and beauty, yet absorbed in the purely technical problems of his own prosody; he fell a prey to the most uncontrolled self-indulgence, and was yet capable of the most austere self-renunciation; he was the member of a society which then held itself aloof from the movements of the Continent, and believed itself founded on property, and all the time he was the passionate champion of revolution and of the Latin spirit. It is the purpose of this monograph to trace the interaction and partial unification of all these elements and tendencies. The task is all the more difficult because Swinburne, like other children of a complex civilization, does not stand out in clear outline (*i suoi contorni non sono mai precisi*). Music, poetry, and portraiture seem to encroach on each other in his work, especially music. In this light we review his early impressions at Eton and Oxford; his connexions with the pre-Raphaelites; his meeting with Mazzini. Sources and influences are fully discussed: Baudelaire with reference to *Poems and Ballads*, legends of Tannhäuser with *Laus Veneris*, Walt Whitman, Carducci, Mrs. Hamilton King with *Songs before Sunrise*. We

⁹ Alice Galimberti. *L'Aedo d'Italia: Algernon Charles Swinburne*. Palermo: Remo Sandra. pp. xiv + 602.

watch his inspiration and his sense of harmony change in the second series of *Poems and Ballads*, and how his conception of patriotism changes in the third series; how Shakespeare as well as Aeschylus is to be traced in *Atalanta* and Euripides in *Erechtheus*, and *Idylls of the King* as well as Dante in *Tristram*. According to Signorina Galimberti, Swinburne has been neglected in England because he is supposed to be lacking in thought, though in reality it is his fantasy which fails him more often than ideas, and his vehemence which obscures his philosophy; he has been ignored in Italy because of the *inveterata indolenza italiana* which would rather hear about authors than read them.

This rather classicizing attitude towards Swinburne is amply reflected in French periodicals. Mr. P. Dottin writes a note in the *Revue Anglo-Américaine* (April) claiming that the poet was so intense a lover of the Ancients, that Greek and Latin became *une véritable obsession* and inspired his best, not his worst poetry. The same critic in '*Swinburne et les dieux*' in the same periodical (June) dwells on the poet's adherence to Greek paganism as an escape from and revolt against 'the Galilean'. And yet once again in *Revue de l'Enseignement des Langues Vivantes* (Jan.) he discusses which aspects of the Greek legends most inspired Swinburne, and notes how little Homer figures, while the poet draws on the other sources. notably Euripides, Apollonius Rhodius, Ovid, to a certain degree Seneca, even Racine, but only for their material. Swinburne, he concludes, was really akin to Homer and the age of heroes and gods. He was more than a poet: 'C'est le *vates* antique chantant les grandes actions accomplies dans les pays de merveilles.' M. Lafourcade has studied the fragments of MSS. of *Atalanta in Calydon* in order to trace the development of expressions and of situations and so to elucidate the thought (*Revue Anglo-Américaine*, June).

Literary interests seem to arise and develop so much in response to fashions or associations of thought, that after considering these discussions of Swinburne we almost expect some monograph on Meredith, at any rate from the French. But all we can find is first of all in *Englische Studien* (59. Bd., 1. Heft) a study by Herr Krusemeyer on Goethe's influence. It has

long been known that Meredith derived much from German thought, for instance from Jean Paul Richter, and that *The Tragic Comedians* is indebted to Helene von Racowitza's *Meine Beziehungen zu Ferdinand Lassalle*; so now it is suggested that the greatest of all German poets may have helped to form the Englishman's mind. Such an inquiry should be referred to the classical school, so it is interesting to note that the other essay, *Meredith and the Cosmic Spirit*, by Gladys M. Turquet, in *The Contemporary Review* (April), is romantic in tone and argues that the human spirit, to reach its highest point of vision, must feel the pulse and urge of nature.

There is no abatement in the flow of works on Thomas Hardy. Mr. H. B. Grimsditch¹⁰ sets out to answer these pertinent questions. 'Is his reading of character sound? Is his management of plot and situation sure? Are the conclusions he draws as to life and destiny the natural reaction of a certain temperament to experience working on it? And does his work as a whole create that pleasurable sympathy of mind and heart which is the indispensable effect of all great art whatsoever?' Surely all students of Hardy go to their master with these questions in their minds, but to demonstrate and corroborate a considered answer to each point would involve researches far beyond the compass of any single volume. And besides, even if such insight could be acquired by analysis, would it be worth while? The value of a creative writer consists in his ability to satisfy our curiosity through our intuition, to persuade illogically, to convince by vision. After all, as Hardy himself said, 'a novel is an impression, not an argument'. So the author of this otherwise stimulating and well-constructed little book does not seem wholly to have succeeded in explaining and interpreting Hardy's world. But his pages are full of ideas. He reminds us that nature 'has unwittingly produced a creature capable of reading her defects'; that the pre-eminent qualities of Hardy's yokels are 'a deep-seated stoicism coupled with the most intense reserve'; that in Angel Clare, 'his

¹⁰ *Character and Environment in the Novels of Thomas Hardy*, by Herbert B. Grimsditch. Witherby. pp. 189. 6s.

subconscious self is warring against the decree of the conscious idealist'. There is nothing very new in these pronouncements nor in the more comprehensive and integral contentions of the book (though the author claims 'to supplement the various excellent general estimates already published'), but they are vigorously put and so come to the reader with conviction. Besides, the whole essay is clearly and pleasantly written and it is always a relief to find a critic who can write about novels or plays without retelling the plots in perfervid language.

Mr. R. Williams has also brought out a short book on the Wessex novels.¹¹ But his essay is too much what it professes to be, an appreciation, and the writer is so given up to reviewing his own personal enjoyment in the novels that he can do no more than make us share his pleasure. Dr. Max Salomon,¹² however, is much more philosophic. He draws attention to the peculiarity of Hardy's attitude to nature, showing how close are the bonds between man and nature, how indeed man is but a part of nature, subject to the same laws, undergoing the same influences, reflecting the same features. In this atmosphere and on this background human morality ought to be studied, for each is symbolical of the other. The moods and passions of men are seen in a landscape; the multitudinous and unconscious workings of nature are seen in man's character, which is his destiny. These ideas are not new, but they are so foreign to nineteenth-century methods of criticism that they are worth reiterating and developing in new and persuasive forms. Unfortunately Dr. Salomon has produced a mere pamphlet, less than forty-three pages long, and has couched his ideas in a crude, angular, abstracted style.

If the reader wishes to perceive to the full how unliterary is the quality of Dr. Salomon's literary thesis, he has only to employ a contrast and turn to Mr. C. E. M. Joad's book on Samuel Butler.¹³ Of course this treatise, like the majority

¹¹ *The Wessex Novels of Thomas Hardy: an appreciative Study*, by Randall Williams. Dent. pp. xi+157. 6s.

¹² *Zur Naturbehandlung in Thomas Hardys Romanen*, von Dr. Max Salomon, 1925. Giessen: Im Selbst-Verlag des Englischen Seminars der Universität Giessen. pp. 42.

¹³ *Samuel Butler (1835-1902)*, by C. E. M. Joad. Parsons. The Road-maker Series. pp. 195. 4s. 6d.

of those which we are discussing, is only a review and exposition of its author's thought and achievement, so there is nothing particularly new to record. On the other hand, Mr. Joad has produced not only an extremely readable monograph, but one which attains to originality through its suggestiveness and point of view. While so many readers are content to chuckle over Butler's iconoclasm and satire, Mr. Joad points out that his real life-work was 'an original contribution to the theory of Creative Evolution on the biological side, the inspired audacity of which places him second to none, not even to Darwin himself, among the pioneers of the nineteenth century'. The critic then discusses Butler's quarrel with the Darwinians, his theory of inherited characteristics, and of 'purposive' evolution; Professor Hering's theory of memory, followed by Butler's own doctrine of habit as inherited memory. Next we have a glimpse of Butler's influence on the subsequent course of biology, and on the conception of matter, and then a study of his relationship to the thinkers and publicists of his time. So we get some idea of his feud with professionalism, his attitude towards scientists, schoolmasters, clergymen, dons, and above all parents. Mr. Joad is interesting, also, on the origin and methods of the note-books and, of course, he discusses the novels, but not in the conventional way. He approaches them under such headings as 'immortality', 'pragmatism', 'the test of instinct', 'Epicureanism', 'morality and happiness', 'the importance of money', 'Doing what others do'. Thus, following his master, Mr. Joad seems to picture man as a silhouette on the huge background of biological evolution, as a complex tendency arising out of the chaotic past and progressing towards the limitless possibilities of the future. Such speculations are the very life-blood of the new romanticism, and whether or no the right attitude to take up to life, they broaden the mind and stimulate the imagination. Take this comparison between Butler and subsequent thinkers:

'Intellect is thus for Butler an evolutionary makeshift. It does laboriously and clumsily what instinct does quickly and infallibly, and each advance in evolution witnesses a fresh suppression of intellect by instinct. . . . Butler regards the operations of the speculative intellect as a pedantic futility,

and appears to look forward with equanimity to the merging of the practical intellect in unconscious instinct. . . . Shaw glories in life; he glories in it to the extent of maintaining that if we are to live properly we must live longer; but he only wants us to live longer in order that we may think more. Thus the Ancients in the last play of the *Back to Methuselah* Pentateuch, having achieved a relative emancipation from the needs and exigencies of material existence, employ their freedom in the intellectual contemplation of unchanging reality. It is this contemplation, the occupation and the delight of mystics in all ages, that Shaw seems to regard as the object of evolution; it is for this that the whole experiment of life was undertaken.'

This comparison with Shaw leads us to another aspect of neo-romanticism. Mr. J. S. Collis has written a monograph on that dramatist,¹⁴ but it is an essay which makes one stop and ask: who are the founders of the twentieth century? Are they the poets and novelists like Browning, Hardy, Gissing, and Whitman, or are they not rather such men as Darwin—not so much because of what he proved, but because of what he made possible? We are, for the moment, at the height of a reaction against the great biologist, especially because he seems to have insisted on the purposelessness of evolution, and the apparently fortuitous and mechanical processes of natural selection. As Mr. Joad made clear, Butler inaugurated that reaction. But Darwin also established, or at any rate made known, the newer conception of man as part of an infinitely wider and more comprehensive life, embracing *fauna* and *flora*, originating millions of years ago in the conflict of natural or even cosmic forces, and moving forward through unimaginable experiences to some new stage of development which we can all indirectly influence by influencing our environment. The belief in man's universality, his multiple and complex urges, his kinship with the stars, the beasts, and the clod, his inconceivable possibilities as a channel for such tendencies transformed into manifestations of human endeavour and self-expression—all these twentieth-century dreams have been made possible by the doctrines which Darwin promulgated or by the opposition which he aroused. Thus, after reviewing the opinions of the reactionaries who

¹⁴ *Shaw*, by J. S. Collis. Cape. pp. 191. 5s.

believe that the soul can rise to its highest and best only by the avenues discovered as early as Homer, some temperaments may be pardoned for thinking that such classicists are right only in a limited sense. Perhaps the twentieth century is about to create a point of view in which science and philosophy and even mathematics will somehow be infused with the emotions of poetry, and the spiritual reactions, which were once aroused by standard literature, will be transformed into visions and enthusiasms so far flung that they seem to be derived from a new world of inspiration.

Such are the suspicions which arise when one reads this treatise on Butler's great successor, Bernard Shaw. Mr. Collis is a young man and his youthfulness appears not only in a certain irresponsibility, but in his freedom from the older ideals of culture. So he comes to his author with a singular freshness of mind. He dwells on his hero's humanity and sensitiveness, his mysticism, the way in which he jumps across facts to his conclusions, like an inspired prophet. Shaw is not primarily a destructive writer. His message is to persuade men and women to be normal not *quâ* human beings but *quâ* natural beings. He is interested 'in the struggle between human vitality and the artificial system of morality'. He believes in growth, in the ultimate triumph of the Life-Force; he is fighting for the free development of natural vitality as opposed to the repressions of modern civilization. He is really not so much a moralist as a natural historian, and his doctrines, in themselves self-evident, would have gained far more recognition if the author's irrepressible wit had not prevented people from taking him seriously. His *Back to Methuselah* is the crowning achievement of a life devoted to the new culture; the impregnation of science with the moral visions of poetry. Mr. Collis then goes on to explain and justify Shaw's technique. According to him the predominance of dialogue is inevitable simply because '*dialogue is the soul of drama*'. Conversation is three-fourths of life, and so phrases and jests 'excite an audience more than the clash of material swords upon the stage—for there is more reality in the one kind of battle than in the other'. And, like so many other Shavian apologists, he justifies his master's characterization by urging that the

dramatis personae seem artificial because they are so uncompromisingly realistic. The unprejudiced reader may be left to decide whether the disciple makes out his case for the prophet as artist, certainly he is at his best when defending Shaw's humanism and prophecy. In this connexion, Mr. Collis produces a good defence of himself. 'A genius when fully inspired is at the mercy of something other and greater than himself. At such moments, to use colloquial language, he trusts to luck that what he is writing means something. In order to meet this difficulty we invented the art of criticism—the business of the critic being to find out what the author means.'

The suggestiveness of Mr. Collis's book will be appreciated all the more if compared with Herr Koistra's point of view. Herr Koistra discusses *St. Joan* in *English Studies* (Feb.) as a specimen of Shaw's later period and finds that the characterization, the emotionalism, the historicity, and especially the epilogue are by no means impeccable. Professor Saurat is no less classically judicial in the *Revue Anglo-Américaine* (June) on Stephen Hudson. One might almost entitle the essay 'An artist in the making'. He considers the author to be more French than English, to be aiming at 'la clarté, l'intelligence, la précision'; his only fear is that the public will not appreciate Mr. Hudson's series of novels as being one continuous work of art. But in any case he is 'le symptôme le plus important de ce retour anglais vers un esprit classique, marqué déjà par T. S. Eliot'. M. Gillet is no less critical with regard to Mr. James Joyce, but with very different results. He describes *Ulysses* as 'un de ces mastodontes qui entrent dans la gloire comme un tank' and sets to work to analyse this Odyssey of Irish city life. He finds that the author has missed his mark because he cannot discriminate. His style is 'moléculaire, atomistique', that is to say, too detailed, not sufficiently selective. His lack of reticence gives a false picture of life. 'La vie est faite d'une poussière de sensations mort-nées, de milliards de notions latentes, d'une grisaille infinie de choses insignifiantes dont la somme ne compte pas, ne fait pas la lueur d'un éclair d'amour et d'énergie' (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, Aug.).

So much for neo-realism in the eyes of a classic. On the

other hand, Mr. S. Jackson (*The London Mercury*, Feb.) has written a singularly sympathetic and understanding sketch of Yeats's poetic personality and development, claiming that he has expanded and widened his vision, even when he took to the theatre, and that sterility followed only when he returned to the subjects which inspired his youth but could no longer embody his more mature ideas. The crisis in his life came with his period of public activity which 'began to drive the smoke of dreams from his eyes' and so he 'learnt the secret, known to Dante among a few others, of writing out of his whole body'. Thanks to this ordeal he succeeded in balancing his sense of living with his sense of life, but the strain broke his health. When he recovered, he returned to the drama, but he also turned to self-analysis and in the effort to unify the diverse if not conflicting tendencies of his nature, he has become a philosopher, but lost the universality of the poet. He has realized that he has before him too many goals of achievement.

'This experimenting with one's personality is a dangerous deadly business. Its only justification is a complete self-mastery. Unless Mr. Yeats wins peace out of this quarrel between himself and himself, unless he can face the tragic world in the perfect armour of a completed personality, his life will be a self-satisfied mystery and his literature grow old with his grave.'

Mr. Jackson has studied Yeats in relation to himself; Mr. M. Y. Hughes is even more modern; he studies W. H. Hudson in relation to the unexplored possibilities of the twentieth century. In *A Great Skeptic: W. H. Hudson* (*Univ. of California Chronicle*, April, 1924) he contends that the most powerful influences in shaping Hudson's mind were Huxley, Darwin, and Herbert Spencer. Not that Hudson acquiesced in their point of view. On the contrary, he revolted for ever against their methods of abstract thought. But they made it impossible for him to be satisfied with the traditions of nineteenth-century literature; they made him a field naturalist and led him towards 'that vital science in which knowledge and experience are intimately related'. Hudson hated the science which dissolved experience into theories, and held Fabre to be the greatest of all

naturalists because he was also a realist. Nor was Hudson less afraid of art. He could not bear to think of life as reduced to aesthetic discipline, and confined within the limitations of artistic representation. He believed in artistic cravings but not in so imperfect a medium as art. So we have one more study of the twentieth-century conscience, in its perplexity, its abandonment, and its examination of all things afresh for its own edification. Hudson even mistrusted human reason because it takes control of man's perceptions and prevents the human being from responding freely to his impressions.

It is perhaps this growing sense of homogeneity with nature, of contact and fellowship with the air and the earth, which is seeking expression in the so-called peasant drama. An interesting sidelight on this development is thrown by Dr. C. W. Meadowcroft in his thesis on peasant drama.¹⁵ He writes some interesting pages on the literature of the peasant, involving a glance at books so far removed from each other as *Gammer Gurton* and George Eliot's novels, and he has done useful work in estimating the different moods in which Hardy, Masefield, Cannan, Gibson, and Abercrombie portray the rustic, but he naturally gives most space to explaining Phillpotts's attitude as a naturalist in human nature. Phillpotts paints the crimes and passions of the Dartmoor rustics, and his portraits are in some sort touched by 'the tragic optimism of Nietzsche'. He does not hide what is worst in human nature, but he tries to make the best of it. Possibly the author may consider the best part of his thesis to be the admirable analysis of Phillpotts's plays. But for those interested in the development of current thought, the most memorable pages will be those devoted to the examination of the dramatist's morality. Phillpotts develops men and women who, if viewed rightly, are neither good nor bad. They may appear guilty before men, but the explanation of their characters is that they are simply their own unalterable selves. They are fulfilling the law of their being.

Several interesting biographies have appeared. We have still

¹⁵ *The Place of Eden Phillpotts in English Peasant Drama*, by Charles William Meadowcroft, Jr. Philadelphia. 1924.

to wait for the authoritative life of Conrad, but in the meantime the periodicals continue to contribute sidelights. M. Jean-Aubry in *Conrad au Congo, d'après des documents inédits* (*Mercure de France*, 15th Oct.) claims that Conrad's visits to that region did not indeed awaken the novelist in him, since *Almayer's Folly* was already begun, but they did definitely fix his destiny as a writer of romances; Mr. Curle in *The Edinburgh Review* (Jan.) creates a picture of the man living in his books as 'experiences mirrored in the integrity of his artistic conscience'; as a profound believer in the trustfulness and fidelity of man as perhaps the foundation of human worth; a conversationalist of electric personality, and yet for weeks together unable to work, and brooding over the absurd futility of things. 'As to the sea, it was the ships and the men in the ships that had his allegiance.' These fascinated and stimulated his imagination so vigorously that he could visualize unforgettable pictures out of the merest hints. The atmosphere of *Nostromo* was created out of a few days sojourn on the coast of S. America; the character of Almayer grew out of half a dozen conversations with a Dutch settler. Galsworthy in his *Reminiscences of Joseph Conrad* contributed to *Scribner's Magazine* (Jan.) also talks about the novelist's attitude to man and nature: 'The sea was no friend of one too familiar with its moods. He disliked being labelled a novelist of the sea. . . . His hero is not the sea, but man in conflict with that cruel and treacherous element.' Or again: 'It was man's job to confront nature with a loyal and steady heart—that was Conrad's creed, his contribution to the dignity of life.' Galsworthy disposes of the fiction that Conrad had any forebears, even among French or Russian novelists, or belonged to any school, but many readers will hurry over these discussions in order to linger over the unforgettable pictures of the novelist in the throes of finishing *Lord Jim* and *Nostromo*. Finally, Mr. Moulton in *The Life and Work of Joseph Conrad* for *The Yale Review* (Jan.) recalls the circumstances under which Mr. Edward Garnett recommended *Almayer* to Fisher Unwin for 'The First Novel Library', and passes on to a highly appreciative and suggestive study of Conrad's artistry—his portrayal of 'the unearthly color and terrible beauty of life'.

These sketches tend on the whole to be reminiscent, biogra-

phical, almost anecdotal. The same is true of Miss Bosanquet's *Henry James at Work*.¹⁶ The essay is too slight to help the student, though it is interesting to have a glimpse of the novelist busily at work revising his earlier stories in order to rescue ideas insufficiently developed, and to retrieve neglected opportunities for 'renderings'. In addition, it is certainly worth remembering that the philosopher picked up the nucleus for some of his best plots from the random conversation of his friends. The reader will find much more food for reflection in Maurice Hewlett's *Letters*.¹⁷ This collection reveals the spiritual career of a man who never rested, who always examined, explored, adventured, seeking to find his real self not only in the realms of art, but in the yet more hazardous and inexhaustible world of experience. Surely we have here the twentieth-century spirit in all its purity. If so the classicists will rejoice, for Hewlett confessed to Cecil Headlam, 'If any place, if any tongue can express what I feel and contain what I worship it is Greece'.

But Hewlett really belongs to the last generation. For the greater part of his life he was a Victorian. Then let us take Flecker's *Life and Letters*.¹⁸ The story of his desultory and thwarted career is only of indirect interest to the student. At most it illustrates not so much the difficulties of modern life as the necessity for being early recognized as a man of letters. But 'Epilogue: The development of Flecker's art', is a very interesting and suggestive little study of the poet's art. Dr. Hodgson shows how Flecker first discovered his passion for poetry among the classics, but then travelled to the French Parnassians and symbolists, studying particularly Baudelaire, Gautier, Heredia, Samain, and Fort. And why did these poets out of all the world appeal to him? Because they cared for poetry in and for itself, isolated themselves from the noise and friction of modern life, eschewed mere facility of verse-writing, and pursued the subtlest, most elusive beauty, till Flecker, their

¹⁶ *Henry James at Work*, by Theodora Bosanquet. Hogarth Press. pp. 33. 2s. 6d.

¹⁷ *The Letters of Maurice Hewlett, to which is added a diary in Greece, 1914*, ed. by Laurence Binyon, with Introductory Memoir by Edward Hewlett, Methuen. pp. xi + 294. 18s.

¹⁸ *The Life of James Elroy Flecker: From letters and materials provided by his Mother*, by Geraldine Hodgson. Blackwell. pp. 288. 12s. 6d.

disciple, also himself 'attained to that strange music, unique in English poetry, which in Hassan trembles along strings more plangent than any earthly violins'. Our admiration for Flecker may not be quite so unqualified as that of his biographer, but we shall at any rate conclude that though he forsook the ancients he remained a classic. He certainly never belonged to the movement known as 'Georgian poetry'. His spirit was always too unavoidably concentrated on what one might call the permanent, established values of poetry.

That word 'poetry' brings us to the next phase of this survey. We have already considered the ideas and aspirations which seem to be struggling for expression, however obscurely, in contemporary verse. We may conclude by raising, without answering, the question whether discussions of the purely literary or technical aspects are worth while at the present time. Mr. R. Graves¹⁹ certainly does not help us much with his views on 'The state of the parties', 'diction', 'metre', 'texture', 'rhythm', 'structure', though his quotations are useful. Mr. R. C. Trevelyan²⁰ seems to think that the very essence and vitality of poetry consist in recitation and incantation, and that if verse is not to decay it must preserve these qualities and recreate an exact prosody. The rhythmical structure should be built up on a definite and constant framework. From the time of Chaucer the principle governing metre has been syllable counting. But the tendency to determine rhythm by stress has been gradually gaining power, and with these lawless experiments the art of poetry is gradually being divorced from its true nature. Time alone will show whether these vaticinations are justified, and in the meantime there is no falling off in the demand for modern English poetry. The growing taste for selections perhaps shows that this demand is not uncritical. Besides a new collection of Swinburne,²¹ we have selections from Herbert Trench,²² Siegfried

¹⁹ *Contemporary Technique of Poetry: A Political Analogy*, by Robert Graves. Hogarth Press. pp. 47. 2s. 6d.

²⁰ *Thamyris: or is there a Future for Poetry?*, by R. C. Trevelyan. Kegan Paul. pp. 89. 2s. 6d.

²¹ *Charles Swinburne's Collected Poetical Works*. Heinemann. Vol. i, pp. xlii + 976; vol. ii, xiv + 1294. 15s. (both vols.).

²² *Selected Poems of Herbert Trench*, ed. with an Introduction by Harold Williams, 1924. Cape. pp. xii + 156. 4s. 6d.

Sassoon,²³ Aldous Huxley.²⁴ Not the least interesting is Luigi Siciliani's selection²⁵ of modern English poets translated with felicitous faithfulness, and accompanied with comprehensive though brief notices of the poets themselves. *The Best Poems of 1925* has already been mentioned.

The widespread taste for contemporary verse is nevertheless surpassed in extent and significance by the ever-growing interest in contemporary drama. So we are glad to have before us Mr. Clark's *Study of the Modern Drama*.²⁶ The book contains an invaluable mass of biographical and bibliographical information, especially the chronologically listed plays of about sixty leading dramatists; and the discursive and critical chapters are made up of suggestions and queries, quite free from any judicial or academic pose. This hypothecating and interrogatory method comes as rather a disappointment to the student familiar with the dogmatisms and deductions of orthodox manuals, but he will end by finding how searching and provocative these questions are, and how the reader gradually finds himself studying life through the medium of stagecraft.

²³ *Selected Poems by Siegfried Sassoon*. pp. 75. Heinemann. 3s. 6d.

²⁴ *Selected Poems: Aldous Huxley*. Blackwell. pp. 63. 5s.

²⁵ Luigi Siciliani: *Di Poeti inglesi moderni: Traduzioni metriche e notizie*. Roma-Milano. Mondadori. pp. 343.

²⁶ *A Study of the Modern Drama. A Handbook for the Study and Appreciation of the Best Plays, European, English, and American of the Last Half-Century*, by Barrett H. Clark. Appleton. pp. xi+527. \$3.50.

XIII

BIBLIOGRAPHICA

[By ARUNDELL ESDAILE]

A VERY considerable addition has been made this year to the English student's set of tools by the publication of the *Register of Bibliographies*,¹ which Mr. C. S. Northup has for many years had in preparation. For discovering what lists exist of the works of particular authors (especially minor authors), or particular classes, it will be of the greatest service. There are omissions, of course: the worst we have noticed is that all but a very few catalogues of private libraries, whether those of sales or other, are ignored, and that Hazlitt is without his Gray; but on the whole it is, like much American work of to-day, of even excessive completeness, thanks to the inclusion of a number of entries of works irrelevant to English literature, e.g. Hain, Panzer, the *List of Books bound by S. T. Prideaux*, and the like. The general section, which precedes the alphabetical arrangement, fills fifty columns, and should have been classified, as in Professor T. P. Cross's hand-list, if it was to be of use. The entries are followed throughout by references to reviews, which must have cost a labour out of all proportion to their value, as one at least of the reviewers can testify. The omission of these and of trivial or irrelevant books and articles would have probably made room for a fuller index. That given consists of the names of bibliographers followed by a series of entry-numbers only, with nothing to distinguish their works from one another, or even from passing references in the notes to other entries in the text, and with no references from the subjects. Moreover, though it is not given to man to avoid errors in a work of this magnitude, errors in names and other details are far too common. Yet, in spite of

¹ *A Register of Bibliographies of the English Language and Literature*, by Clark Sutherland Northup. With Contributions by Joseph Quincy Adams and Andrew Keogh. Cornell Studies in English. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: O.U.P. pp. 507. 23s. net.

these blemishes, Mr. Northup has given us a valuable book, which we hope may be made still more so in a second edition.

The two Britwell sales^{2,3} were again the most important of the year. Unique or nearly unique books which were sold include—

In the first sale:

R. A. [Robert Aylett?], *The Song of Songs which was Solomon's*, 1621; T. H., *Oenone and Paris*, 1594 (title, wanting, from Stationers' Register)—the detailed parallels with *Venus and Adonis*, of which the cataloguer makes so much as to call the book 'a contemporary plagiarism' of it, are quite insignificant, but the metre is the same, and *Venus and Adonis* may have suggested *Oenone and Paris*—; *ȝ new Notborune [sic] mayd vpō ȝ passiō of cryste* (John Skot, c. 1535), a moralization of the *Nutbrown Maid*; H. R. [Henry Roberts], *A True Relation of a . . . Fight, performed . . . by two small Shippes . . . the Vineyard . . . and the Unicorne . . . against sixe great Gallies of Tunes* [1616]; F. Lenton, *Characterismi*, 1631.

In the second sale:

Ane breif descriptioun of the qualities and effectis of the well of the woman hill besyde Abirdene, 1580; W. Bullein, *A Dialogue . . . against the feuer Pestilence*, 1564; *Thre Practyses now used at Mountpyller by monsyre Emery* (Wyer, n. d.); Erasmus, *Dicta sapientū* (Berthelet, n. d.); Erasmus, *Declamatio in laudem medicinae* (R. Redman, n. d.); *The Propytees and Medycynes for hors* (de Worde? n. d., imperfect); *Lathams Falconry, or the Falcons Lure and Cure*, 1614 (an unrecorded earlier issue of the 1615 ed.); T. N., *A Pleasant Dialogue between a Lady called Listra, and a Pilgrim. Concerning the Gouvernement and Commonweale of the great prouence of Crangalor*, 2 pt., 1579; a number of early prognostications; W. Pank, *A most breefe, easie and plaine receite for Faire Writing*, [b. 1593]; T. Phaer, *The Regiment of Lyfe*, 1544; J. S., *The True Art of Angling*, 24^{mo}, 1696; C. Saltonstall, *The Navigator*, 1636; J. Vaus, *Rudimenta artis grammaticae* (Edinburgh, Lekprevik), 1566, partly in Scots dialect.

² *Catalogue of a further Selection of . . . Early English Poetry . . . the Property of S. R. Christie Miller, Esq.* (22nd–26th March), Sotheby.

³ *Catalogue of a further Portion . . . comprising Early English Works on the Arts and Sciences* (30th March–3rd April), Sotheby.

The Royal Society's sale of books from the remains of the Howard gift ⁴ included the only known copy of the Indian translation of Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*, *Wehkomaonganoo asquam peantogig* (Cambridge, Mass.), 1664.

Christie's sale of Lord Middleton's books from Wollaton Hall ⁵ contained English MSS. of Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *Of the Properties of Things* (with *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost*) and Lydgate's *Falls of Princes*. Some rare English printed books appeared at this sale and at that by Sotheby of Lord Cromwell's books from Sprotborough Hall. But the most important volume which figured in the sale room was the Cardigan Chaucer, which was withdrawn at Sotheby's in April, ⁶ and is still at Deene in Northamptonshire. This volume was stolen by a Belgian refugee, sold to a London dealer, resold to a New York dealer, and again to Vassar College. It is pleasant to record that Dr. McCracken returned the book in the most honourable and graceful way as soon as its provenance was made clear.

The chief acquisitions of original editions of English books at the British Museum have been: Thomas Walkington, *The Optick Glasse of Humours*, 1606; Gervase Markham, *The Second and Last Part of the First Book of the English Arcadia*, 1613; Guarini, *Il Pastor Fido*, Fanshawe's version with original poems by the translator, 1648, 1647; La Calprenède, *Cassandra*, translated by R. Loveday, the first complete English edition, 1652; Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, *Parthenissa*, the London reissue of the Waterford first edition, 1655-6; John Palmer, *The Catholique Planisphaer*, 1658; Dryden, *The Wild Gallant*, one of the two editions of 1669, and probably the first; Thomas Jordan, *The Goldsmith's Jubilee*, 1674, the book of the Pageant of Sir Robert Vyner's Lord Mayoralty, at which Charles I and the Duke of York were present; Sir Isaac Newton, *The Present State of Ireland*, Dublin, 1712, an unrecorded edition; Allan Ramsay,

⁴ *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books sold by Order of the President and Council of the Royal Society* (6th-8th April), Sotheby.

⁵ *Catalogue of Valuable Books from the Wollaton Hall Library* (15th-18th June), Christie, Manson & Woods.

⁶ *Catalogue of Manuscripts . . .* (6th-8th April), Sotheby.

Elegy on Maggie Johnston, 1717, *Content*, 1719, *Familiar Epistles*, 1719, *Richy and Sandy*, 1719, *Health*, 1724; Defoe, *An Impartial History of the Life of Peter Alexowitz [Peter the Great]*, 1723; John Wesley, *Hymns for the Nativity of Our Lord* [1745?]; Johnson, *Journal of a Tour to the Western Islands*, 2nd and 3rd editions, 1775 and 1785. A sermon preached in Hampshire in the rainy season of 1623 is worth quoting for its title: James Rowlandson, *God's Blessing in Blasting and his Mercy in Mildew*.

The Museum also acquired some literary manuscripts: the two final chapters (one subsequently cancelled) of *Persuasion*, the only surviving MS. of any of Jane Austen's greater novels; autograph poems of Austin Dobson and J. E. Flecker; and letters of Dorothy Wordsworth, Maria Edgeworth, and Cardinal Manning.

The *Bodleian Quarterly Record* continued to publish lists of desiderata, and numerous gaps were in consequence filled; the chief were *Mansfield Park*, 1814, presented by Mr. Justice Mackinnon, completing the Bodleian's set of the novels; Cowley's *Poeticall Blossomes*, 1638; Prior's *Archibaldi Pitcarnii Carmen* [1712]; Gay's *Trivia*, 1716, and *Two Epistles*, 1720; Savage's *Love in a Veil*, 1715; and a number of minor editions of pieces by Wordsworth and Coleridge.

An article by Dr. R. B. McKerrow on *Elizabethan Printers and the Composition of Reprints* (*Library*, v. 357-64) is of importance to textual critics and editors.

All who have made use of the *Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature*, issued by the Modern Humanities Research Association, will regret that volume v, covering the publications of 1925, is the last to be edited by Dr. A. C. Panes. The work that she has carried on so ably for five years will now be undertaken by Miss D. Everett.

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